

ARCHAEOLOGIA MEDII AEVI FINLANDIAE XXVIII

THE SOCIAL AND MATERIAL WORLD OF MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN (C. 1200–1650) VILLAGES IN SOUTHERN FINLAND

Tuuli Heinonen



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Archaeologia Medii Aevi Finlandiae XXVIII

The social and material world of medieval and early modern
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Tuuli Heinonen

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Back cover: A shard of wheel-turned low-fired earthenware ceramics from Mäkkylä.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to study the material and social world of medieval and early modern (c. 1200–1650 AD) villages in Uusimaa, Southern Finland. This is done by focusing on five case studies, which are all extensively excavated medieval and early modern villages: Mankby, Köklax, Mäkkylä, Mårtensby, and Västersundom. The material of this study consists of both archaeological material and written sources concerning the villages. These sources are used to study the different inhabitants living in the villages and their material culture.

The main research questions of the thesis are:

1. What was the material culture of the medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland like?
2. What kinds of social environments were found in the medieval and early modern villages, and how did the material culture interact with the social life?
3. How can written sources and archaeological material complement each other when the medieval and early modern countryside is the focus of the research?

The three questions are approached along the lines of social archaeology. The villages formed a special social environment, where different social actors, both human and non-human, participated in the social life. Material culture was part of this world, and it also had a central role in constructing, maintaining, and communicating things like wealth and identities. The different research materials are used together in a detail-oriented way, as is typical of microhistory, microarchaeology, and sourcepluralism, making it possible to study the material culture and social world of the studied villages but also enabling discussion of medieval and early modern rural life on a wider level.

As this study is founded on both archaeological and historical sources, the relationship between the two sets of sources and the source-critical problems that arise is discussed in detail. The main types of historical sources used in this work are tax books and court records, which are supplemented with medieval sources and early 16th-century account books kept by Tallinn merchants. These sources are used to study the people living in the villages, with emphasis on their wealth, connections, and the trusted positions they held. All these can inform about the social standing of the inhabitants. The archaeological material consists of both objects and buildings excavated in the five villages. The development of building practices is studied by focusing on the buildings on a detailed level. The built environment is also studied on a more general level in order to investigate the changes that happened with the use of space over time. The physical environment interacted with the social life, being closely connected to the ways in which people moved around in the village, where and how different activities took place, and whom the inhabitants met during their daily life. The objects are compared between different farms and villages in order to establish differences in wealth, contacts, livelihoods, and social position. In addition, the use of space is studied based on the distribution of different objects.

Based on the five case studies, the social life and material life in the villages are studied from different perspectives. The results of the study show that the medieval villages in cen-

tral Uusimaa were a varied environment. The villages were established by both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking groups during the Early Middle Ages. They were dynamic environments where the building practices, use of space, and used objects changed throughout the studied period. The material culture of the villages was varied, and besides objects manufactured locally, imported items were used regularly. The villagers not only used imported tableware and personal items related to clothing for practical reasons, but also to communicate and negotiate their social position and identity. Besides agriculture, many villagers gained their livelihoods from varied sources, like handicrafts and trade. Because of the small number of towns in Uusimaa, peasant tradesmen who sailed regularly to Tallinn were important for the economy of the area, and they also transmitted material and social influences through their extensive networks. Besides the peasants, there were likely noblemen and soldiers living in the villages. In addition, the villagers included a large number of people like women, children, and servants, who are not easily visible in either archaeological or historical sources.

The five villages offer a good example of the varied nature of medieval and early modern villages as both material and social environments. By combining both archaeological and historical data, a more nuanced picture can be gained of the different sides of rural life than by using just one type of source. Although there are challenges in using the different types of sources together, the results are good, and in the best cases the life history of single farms can be studied in detail. The examples studied in this work clearly demonstrate how a detailed study of archaeological and historical sources offers new insights into the material and social world of medieval and early modern villages.

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When I decided to start working on a doctoral dissertation, it was not difficult for me to choose the topic. After excavating medieval and early modern village sites for years and writing my Master's thesis about one of them, medieval and early modern settlement felt like the most interesting and familiar theme to continue with. However, although the topic was familiar to me when I started the work, I could not have written this thesis without the kind support of several people, who deserve my deepest gratitude.

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Tuuli Heinonen

1 INTRODUCTION

During the medieval and early modern periods, the majority of people in the region of modern-day Finland lived in rural areas, and much of the social life was centred there. However, quite little is known about the everyday life in the medieval and even early modern villages. The medieval laws and early modern tax records show how the administration and authorities saw the villages. However, this view was mainly idealistic and practical, and based on the optimal ways of arranging life in the villages to avoid conflicts and secure a balanced tax income. Therefore, these texts tell little about the ordinary life of the villagers. Other sources tell a bit more about the varied nature of life in the villages. Court records show that it did not always go smoothly, as different conflicts arose regularly. At the same time, they offer a glimpse of everyday life. The difficulties the Crown had in securing taxes reveal that the villages and farms that the Crown had defined as viable taxpayers were not always that. Clearly, the life in the villages was much more varied than merely on the basis of laws or tax records. Even sources like court records tell quite little about this variety, especially during the Middle Ages.

Rural life has long interested Finnish researchers from different fields. Peasants were a central object of study in Finnish history especially in the 1920s and 1930s, when the free peasant became the ideal archetype of the Finnish past.¹ Peasants had been studied by historians and ethnologists already in the 19th century, but in these studies they were typically seen either in a romantic national light or as passive subjects suffering under the burden of heavy taxation.² The idea of a free peasant as the central actor of Finnish history lifted them onto a pedestal as the new focus of research. Some of the best examples of this growing research on peasants can be found in the work of historian Eino Jutikkala, who in the 1940s published the books *History of the Finnish peasant* and *The Finnish peasant through the ages*.³

During the first half of the 20th century, peasants and the agrarian economy were often studied on a large scale, with little attention paid to differentiation inside the group. Typically, historians focused on the agrarian side of rural life and the peasants, and ethnologists have examined rural material culture based on 19th- and 20th-century folk culture. Yet, these studies can shed only so much light on the different people living in the medieval and early modern villages, their social relations, and their material culture. A different view was taken by some researchers, like Seppo Suvanto, who in his work has traced the differences within the medieval peasant community in Western Finland. Based on Suvanto's studies, the peasants did not form a uniform group, but there were differences in wealth between them, and many were engaged in a range of livelihoods, like crafts or trade, besides farming.⁴ The most influential and wealthy peasants have even been described as members of a *peasant elite* in Fennoscandia, showing how some of the peasants were exceptionally wealthy and well connected.⁵

¹ Ahtiainen & Tervonen 1996: 69–73; Tervonen 2014.

² Östman 2006; Tervonen 2014.

³ *Suomalaisen talonpojan historia* (1958, originally published in 1942); *Suomen talonpoika kautta aikojen* (1946); see also Ahtiainen & Tervonen 1996: 93–101.

⁴ Suvanto 1987; 1995.

⁵ Koskinen 2016a.



Fig. 1.1 Uusimaa in red. Map Tuuli Heinonen.



Fig. 1.2 Studied sites and the Finnish capital Helsinki. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

Still, even the research that has treated peasants as a group consisting of individuals with different levels of wealth and status has focused only on a small part of the rural inhabitants. This is understandable, as peasants are the most visible group in the medieval and 16th-century sources. Nonetheless, there were a number of other people present in the villages as well, some more permanently and some occasionally.⁶ Besides peasants were their families, hired labour, craftsmen, women, and old and poor people with little property. These other groups have also received attention from historians during the past decades, but the studies have mainly focused on the 17th and 18th centuries, from when more sources are available.⁷

Because of the small number of medieval written sources, and the relatively one-sided nature of the early modern ones, the variety of the social world and the material culture of the villages can be studied only to a certain degree solely on that basis. Written sources offer merely a glimpse of the varied social life and all its different facets in the villages, as most of the written records are only focused on people paying taxes to the Crown. Luckily, archaeological research on medieval and early modern village sites has greatly increased during the first decades of the 21st century, and this material offers new possibilities for studying life in the villages. This is especially true for the region of Uusimaa (Sw. Nyland) in southernmost Finland, where several research projects during the past two decades have concentrated on locating and excavating medieval villages.⁸

In this work, the social and material world of the medieval and early modern villages in Uusimaa (Fig. 1.1) is studied based on both historical and archaeological source material. This is done by focusing on five case studies, five villages, all located in central Uusimaa: Mankby, Köklax, and Mäkkylä located in modern day Espoo and Mårtensby and

⁶ Katajala 2006.

⁷ E.g. Miettinen 2012; Miettinen & Viitaniemi 2018.

⁸ E.g. Haggrén 2009c; Koivisto et al. 2010; Haggrén & Lavento 2011; Haggrén & Tuovinen 2012; Russow 2012; Harjula et al. 2016.

Västersundom in Vantaa (Fig. 1.2). All these villages have been extensively excavated using modern methodology during the past twenty years, and therefore they offer good source material. In this work, these villages act as examples of the varied material and social environments the villages comprised during the medieval and early modern periods. The time-frame of this work covers a period starting from the turn of the 13th century, around the period when the Middle Ages are traditionally thought to have begun in Southern Finland, and ending around the mid-17th century, at which point three of the five village sites had been deserted.

Although peasants⁹ were not the only group living in the villages, they have an important role in this work, as in many before this, as they are often the persons who are easiest reached through the source material. Still, this study does not focus solely on them; instead, the villages are discussed as a social and material environment, where different kinds of people lived, interacted, and actively shaped both the social and material realities around them. Buildings and objects offer a new possibility to reach the different groups and their everyday life, as they bring a new, material dimension to the study. This enables new approaches to the social life, as the material and social aspects of the life are closely entwined. The built environment was a place for interaction, shaping, and reflecting social relations. Different objects could be used in everyday tasks like handicrafts or cooking, but they could also communicate and mediate different ideas. People and material culture formed a web of actors, and only by studying all those who were part of this web can a wider picture of the social and material world of the medieval and early modern villages be gained.

By using the archaeological and historical material from the five villages included in this study, the aim is to present examples of the variety of medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland. Because of the scattered nature of the source material, the history of these villages cannot be reached completely. Therefore, these villages do not offer a complete picture of all aspects of rural settlement – even for Southern Finland, let alone for any larger areas – but instead act as an example of the material and social variety of villages and their inhabitants. Moreover, these examples will hopefully act as a starting point for further discussion about medieval and early modern villages as a material and social environment in Finland, and offer and interesting material for comparisons with other areas as well.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THE OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The aim of this work is to study the material and social world of medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland. The main research questions of this thesis are:

1. What was the material culture of the medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland like?

As recently as the beginning of the 21st century, quite little was known about the material culture of medieval and early modern villages in Finland, and many of the ideas were based on ethnological studies done long after the Middle Ages. Based on the experiences from a small number of excavations, it was thought that the finds from medieval villages con-

⁹ For the use of the word ‘peasant’ in this work, see Chapter 1.3.

sisted mainly of bulk finds, with very few imported items among them.¹⁰ However, as the number of excavations has increased, it has become obvious that the material culture of the villages was more varied than this.¹¹ In this work, the material culture of the studied sites is approached systematically to create an overview of the buildings and objects used in the villages. By means of a systematic comparison, it is possible to establish what was typical of the material culture of the villages in medieval and early modern Southern Finland. At the same time, the farmsteads and villages can be examined to discuss their differences and the reasons for those.

2. What kinds of social environments were found in the medieval and early modern villages, and how did the material culture interact with the social life?

The material culture in the villages did not exist independently from the people, as the two were closely entwined. Therefore, buildings and objects can offer a great deal for the study of the people who used them, as well as their social relationships. The written records tell only a little about the different people who lived in the villages. This is especially the case with the Middle Ages, as most of the written sources date to the post-medieval period. Written records give the first systematic evidence regarding the peasants who owned farms in the villages around the mid-16th century, but the other inhabitants are not listed comprehensively until the 1630s. Therefore, the ideas of medieval villagers are in many cases based on later sources, and even when the early modern period is studied, very little is known about other inhabitants than the peasants.

By combining the written sources with archaeological material, it is possible to gather a more comprehensive picture of the different inhabitants of the villages and to study the villages as social environments. Archaeological material can provide new insights into the differences of wealth between the farms, show how the space in the villages was organised for different activities, and in some cases even offer new ideas about how the people perceived themselves and how they communicated these views. However, material culture not only acted as a background for social life in the villages, but actively participated in maintaining it.

Based on the source material, it is possible to discuss the different social roles people had in medieval villages. Although most of the inhabitants of the studied villages were peasants, even the peasant communities were stratified, especially by the end of the 16th century.¹² However, it is not known how strong this stratification was in medieval Finland and how it may have affected everyday social life in the villages. In Sweden, a number of archaeological studies on medieval rural sites have focused on these questions, thus offering interesting comparative material for the Finnish examples.¹³

Finnish villages also provide interesting material for international comparisons. In many areas of Europe, the discussion concerning the social environment of villages has been centred around the tensions in the feudalistic relationships between peasants and land-owners. Even the studies that have focused on peasants' agency have often underlined the

¹⁰ E.g. Haggrén 2002: 22–23.

¹¹ See, e.g., Terävä 2016; Väisänen 2016.

¹² Koskinen 2016a.

¹³ E.g. Bentz 2002; Andersson & Svensson 2002; Lagerstedt 2004; Svensson 2008.

role the elites had in restricting or enabling the peasants' actions.¹⁴ In Finland, the role of the nobility was minor, compared to most medieval Europe, and farms were typically owned by the peasants inhabiting them. Therefore, Finnish villages offer an opportunity to study how social relations were formed and maintained in an environment where the social status was not strongly determined by the background of a person and where the people could actively shape their place in the world.

3. How can written sources and archaeological material complement each other when the medieval and early modern countryside is the focus of the research?

The third research question of this work focuses on the methodological side of the study. There are some researchers in Finland who have extensively used both historical and archaeological sources in their work, and they have also evaluated the methodology and results of their work.¹⁵ However, these studies have mainly focused on castles, manors, and towns, or on locating medieval settlements with the help of historical sources, especially maps. There have been fewer attempts to combine historical and archaeological data when rural sites are studied, especially in order to study rural history on a detailed level.¹⁶ Therefore, a work like this, in which both types of materials are used extensively to study medieval and early modern villages, offers a great opportunity to evaluate the possibilities and challenges related to combining different sources in the study of rural history.

In the first chapter of this work, the aims and the research questions of the thesis are presented. The temporal and geographical frames for the study are defined, as well as the central concepts related to rural history. The development of Finnish historical archaeology, with a special emphasis on rural sites, is given at the end of the chapter to place this work in its broader context.

In Chapter Two, a general historical background for the study is presented, both on a larger scale of the Swedish realm and on the more detailed scale of Uusimaa. This will act as a background for understanding the specific context of the society in which the subjects of this study lived from the Iron Age to the early modern period.

Chapter Three focuses on the theoretical framework of the study, which falls under the scope of social archaeology. Medieval society and villages were a special social environment built and maintained by different social actors. These actors were both human and non-human, and material culture played a central role in the social world. Objects could also express different identities on both individual and social levels. The roles the material culture and human actors played in building, maintaining, and expressing different social roles are discussed in the chapter.

In Chapter Four, different approaches to the archaeological material and written sources are viewed in a critical light. There has been much discussion about the relationship between material culture and text, but also about the relationship between history and archae-

¹⁴ E.g. Saunders 1990; Smith 2009; DeWindt 2015; Platt 2016.

¹⁵ E.g. Suhonen 2008; Haggrén 2011c; Savolainen 2011; 2013.

¹⁶ See Heinonen 2015a.

ology as fields of study. In this work, the scattered source material is approached following the lines of microhistory, microarchaeology, and sourcepluralism, and the importance of different contexts is highlighted. All these are presented in the chapter.

In Chapter Five, the different research materials and the methodological approaches surrounding them are presented in a critical light. This work is based on written documents and archaeological material, which consists of both objects and buildings. The written documents are used to trace the people living in the villages and to discuss their wealth and contacts. Objects are approached systematically based on their function, in order to compare the assemblages at different sites. The variations in the assemblages may tell about different activities or the different levels of social status between the farmsteads, for example. The buildings are studied on a detailed level to expose their construction details and function, but also on a more general level to study the use of space in the villages over time. At the end of the chapter, the challenges that are related to combining the different source materials are discussed.

The villages, their inhabitants and their material culture are presented in chapters six to ten, each chapter focusing on one village. The development of the villages is studied based on archaeological evidence as well as written sources. In Chapter Eleven, the different aspects of the social and material world of the villages are discussed based on the previous chapters. Themes like the first inhabitants of the villages, the development of different sides of the material culture, and the social differences are the focus of the discussion. In Chapter Twelve, the results of the study are summed up.

1.2 GEOGRAPHICAL AND TEMPORAL FRAMEWORK

This study is focused on Uusimaa, the southernmost region of modern-day Finland. During the Middle Ages, Finland was the eastern half of the Swedish realm and therefore known as *Österland*, the ‘Eastland’. The borders of the realm changed throughout the period studied here, and neither medieval Finland nor Sweden should be understood as the later national state. Therefore, when used in this work, Finland and Sweden as concepts refer primarily to the geographical areas on the two sides of the Gulf of Bothnia, not to the later national states. The focus of this work is first on the southern parts of Finland. The eastern and northern parts of modern-day Finland were incorporated in the Swedish realm only gradually during the medieval and early modern periods (Fig. 1.3), and the historical developments in both areas notably differ from those of Southern and Western Finland.¹⁷ The terms ‘Finnish’ and ‘Swedish’ differ from the modern concepts as well: they do not refer to the inhabitants of the modern national states, but to people living on the different sides of the Gulf of Bothnia, in the areas of the respective modern states. In the context of medieval Uusimaa, these terms are used to refer to the two language groups present in the area in the Middle Ages, although neither formed any clearly defined ethnic or linguistic group.¹⁸

¹⁷ See, e.g., Ylimaunu et al. 2017.

¹⁸ As a result of the two language groups, Finland is still bilingual, and most of the places have both Finnish and Swedish names. In this work, regarding the choice of languages when using place names, the instructions given by the Institute for the Languages of Finland are followed; see Institute for Languages in Finland 2021. For the medieval villages discussed in this work, the medieval Swedish names are used.

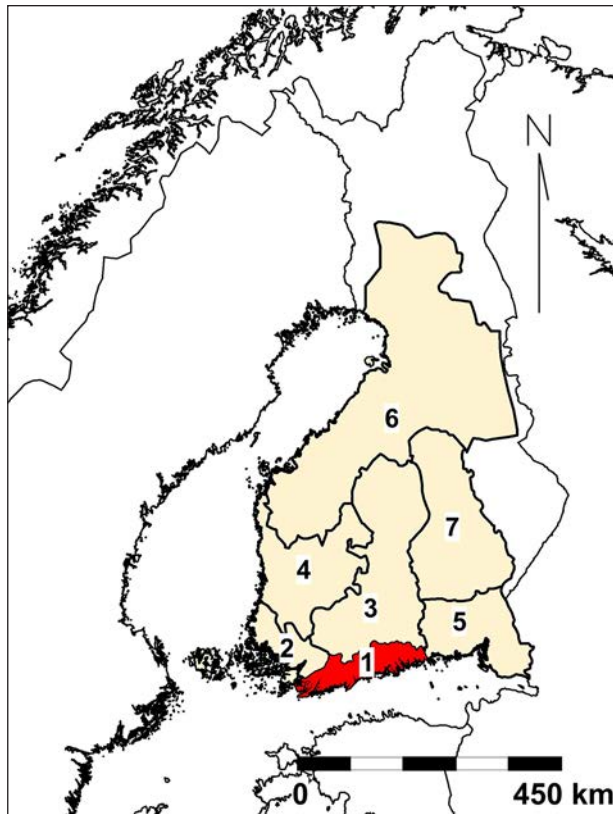


Fig. 1.3 Finnish historical provinces in the late 16th century. 1. Uusimaa consisting of the province of Raseborg in the west and Borgå in the east 2. Finland Proper 3. Tavastia 4. Satakunta 5. Karelia 6. Ostrobothnia 7. Savolax. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

The timeframe for this study spans from the beginning of the medieval period around the 12th and 13th centuries to the mid-17th century. This covers the main period of settlement in three of the studied villages, while settlement in the two remaining ones continued longer into modern times. This timeframe makes it possible to discuss the different phenomena over a long time period and to discuss the changes that happened in the material culture and social world between the early medieval and early modern periods.

When the Iron Age is discussed in this work, the western Finnish chronology is used.¹⁹ The last phases of the Finnish Iron Age, the Viking Age (800/825–1025 AD) and the Crusade Period (1025–1150/1200 AD) are sometimes referred to as the Late Iron Age in this study. For Eastern Finland, the chronology is somewhat different, as the end of the Crusade Period is typically dated to 1300 there. This shows well the

difficulties in establishing clear boundaries between periods defined by modern researchers, as is especially clear in the case of the Middle Ages in Finland.²⁰

Traditionally, the beginning of the Middle Ages in Western Finland is dated to 1150, when the so-called first crusade was directed to the area from Sweden. Later research has shown that most likely an expedition was really done from Central Sweden to Finland in the 1150s, but the nature of this campaign is uncertain.²¹ However, this campaign seems to have caused very minor changes compared to those that happened during the following centuries, when Finland was gradually incorporated into the Swedish realm. Therefore, the starting point of the medieval period in Finland has long been debated.²²

In a more recent discussion, archaeologist Markus Hiekkanen has suggested that the year 1200 would be a better starting point for medieval period in Finland because the tradition of placing objects in the graves continued at least until the end of the 12th century in Western Finland.²³ Other researchers have used the term ‘early history’ or ‘protohistory’ (Fi.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Raninen & Wessman 2015.

²⁰ See Immonen 2012.

²¹ See, e.g., Lindkvist 2001; 2007; Lehtonen 2007.

²² See, e.g., Salminen 2013: 32 and the cited literature.

²³ Hiekkanen 2005a: 22–23.

varhaishistoria), some to characterise the whole medieval period²⁴ and others, like Georg Haggrén, to refer to the 12th and 13th centuries. Haggrén sees these centuries as a period that was not really prehistory any longer, but during which only a very small number of written sources were still being produced.²⁵ At least in the case of Uusimaa, Haggrén's view on protohistory describes well the period when the medieval settlement was established. Although the term 'protohistory' is not used in this work (because it is not an established and clearly defined term in Finnish history or archaeology), the idea of a grey area between the Iron Age and the Middle Ages is appropriate for the material studied here.

The end point for the Middle Ages in Finland has traditionally been defined by the ascent of Gustav I (Vasa) to the Swedish throne in 1523 and the beginning of the Reformation in Sweden in 1527. A series of administrative and religious changes in the realm followed these events. However, these changes took place gradually during the 16th century, and therefore other end points for the Middle Ages also have been suggested, and the gradual nature of the process has been underlined.²⁶ Despite these suggestions being well founded, none have been widely adopted so far in Finland.

This study also covers the beginning of the early modern period, which refers to the period that followed the Middle Ages. The end point for the early modern period is not clearly defined in Finland, and usually the term refers to the 16th and 17th centuries, sometimes including the 18th century. When a more exact end point is defined, both 1721 (when the Russian occupation, known as the Great Wrath, ended) and 1809 (when Finland became a part of Russia) are used.²⁷ In this work, the focus is only on the beginning of the early modern period. This allows study of the changes that happened by the mid-17th century, when the medieval society had been replaced by a centralised, expansive state and the written sources were gradually becoming more varied.

1.3 STUDYING VILLAGE LIFE – SOME KEY CONCEPTS

In this work, the social and material dimensions of historical villages and farms are discussed. The study focuses on several aspects of historical settlements, which as concepts can be understood in different ways. Therefore, it is central to define their meaning for this work.

Villages and hamlets

As a concept, *village* (Fi. *kylä*, Sw. *by*) can refer to a social unit, spatial unit, or administrative unit. In the case of medieval and early modern villages in Uusimaa, all these aspects are relevant. The Cambridge Dictionary defines 'village' as '*a group of houses and other buildings that is smaller than a town, usually in the countryside*'.²⁸ This definition highlights the spatial and physical nature of villages; they are settlements that consist of several buildings placed close together. In Finnish and Swedish archaeology, a village is typically defined as a

²⁴ E.g. Taavitsainen 1999: 9–10.

²⁵ Haggrén 2015a: 369, 373–375.

²⁶ Lamberg et al. 2009: 16–17; Kallioinen 2001: 42.

²⁷ E.g. Rasila et al. 2003; Kallio-Seppä 2010; Network for Early Modern Research in Finland 2021.

²⁸ Cambridge Dictionary Online, visited 10.12.2020.

settlement consisting of at least two settlement units or farmsteads, which are located close to each other, which share a joint area, and which are engaged in some level of co-operation.²⁹

Co-operation can be difficult to detect based on archaeological material, and therefore Jan-Erik Fallgren's following definition may be more practical for the archaeologist. Fallgren has suggested that a village can be defined as a settlement consisting of two or more farms which have a common name, have their landed property located close to each other, are clearly separated from other surrounding settlements, and have some joint resources such as forest or fishing waters. According to Fallgren, a settlement can be called a village if it meets these criteria, even if it is not strictly regulated like many later historical villages in Sweden were.³⁰ Still, it is sometimes challenging to follow even this definition in archaeology, which often deals with deserted settlements, some of them not known by name from the historical sources.

Using typical European definitions, most of the settlements in medieval Finland would be called hamlets rather than villages. In central England, villages have been defined as nucleated settlements comprising between six and sixty households, with the farms typically laid out according to a regular plan, often around a central point like a church or manor house. Settlements with five farms or less are called hamlets or single farmsteads, and in some cases other types of dispersed settlements are distinguished.³¹

In Scandinavian research, a similar division between hamlets and villages is rarer, especially when writing in Finnish or Swedish, as all settlements larger than one farm have been counted as villages by the early modern administration. Even single farms could be referred to with the word *by* at the turn of the Iron Age and Middle Ages, and although the meaning regarding a settlement with several farms became fixed during the Middle Ages,³² the early modern administration could define single farms as villages in the taxation.³³ Therefore, a medieval or early modern village was not automatically a spatial conglomeration of several farms. Even in cases where several farms were grouped together in taxation, they did not always form a spatial unit. For example, in Eastern Finland, where slash-and-burn cultivation made the population mobile and dispersed, separate farms with no real spatial or social connection could be grouped together in tax books.³⁴

The Scandinavian research project on deserted farms and villages simply called settlements with less than six farms *small villages*, and larger settlements as *villages*.³⁵ In some studies concerning the Late Iron Age or medieval villages in southern Western Finland the artificial division into hamlets and villages has been dismissed for being irrelevant in the Finnish context,³⁶ and in some cases both terms are simply used interchangeably.³⁷ In the case of Iron Age settlement, the term *settlement unit* has sometimes been preferred instead of taking a stand on the most suitable historical term.³⁸

²⁹ E.g. Fallgren 1993; 2006: 87–89, 95; Schimdt Sabo 2001; Schmidt Sabo 2004: 90–95; Rosendahl 2008b: 92–99; Vuorinen 2009: 202; Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 147; 2019: 12.

³⁰ Fallgren 2006: 87–89.

³¹ Lewis et al. 2001: 5–6, 103–113.

³² Fallgren 2006: 88.

³³ Mäkinen 2002: 37; Orrman 2003: 115–117.

³⁴ Mäkinen 2002: 36–38.

³⁵ Sandnes 1981: 68.

³⁶ Vuorinen 2009: 202.

³⁷ E.g. Jansson et al. 2010; Harjula et al. 2016.

³⁸ Asplund 2008: 35–36.

Here, the term village is chosen to describe the studied settlements, although it is somewhat problematic in the Finnish context, especially when the Late Iron Age or early medieval period is discussed.³⁹ In this work, the term *village* refers to two things: in archaeological record, it means a settlement consisting of at least two settlement units, farmsteads, which are located close to each other. In the written records, villages were administrative units consisting of one or more farms grouped together. Typically, in Southern Finland, these administrative villages consisted of farms located close to each other and engaged in regular co-operation. Therefore, they can be regarded as villages in all senses. As co-operation is difficult to determine based solely on archaeological material, the main criterion for an archaeological site to be interpreted as a village is that there are at least two contemporary dwelling houses located close to each other, either on the same plot or on two plots located within a short distance from each other.

Historical sources show that in the early modern period, the five settlements studied in this work were villages in all regards: they consisted of settlement units, farms, located in a defined area; the farms were engaged in co-operation, and the settlements were defined as villages by the administration. In the cases, where no clear break is visible in the archaeological record between the medieval and early modern settlement phases at the sites, the medieval remains are interpreted as earlier settlement phases of the villages known from the early modern historical sources. During the first settlement phases, these settlements may have consisted of a single farmstead, but during the Middle Ages, they all became villages. The settlement history of each site is discussed more closely in chapters six to ten.

Farms and farmsteads

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the word *farm* refers to “an area of land, together with a house and buildings, used for growing crops and/or keeping animals as a business”, while *farmstead* is a more restricted concept, referring to the house belonging to a farm and the buildings around it.⁴⁰ In Finnish or Swedish, a similar division of concepts does not exist, and the Finnish word *tila* and the Swedish word *gård* can be used similarly for both farm and farmstead.⁴¹

In the medieval and early modern periods, farms were basic units of settlement in Finland. A farm was an independent settlement unit, which in Western Finland was typically inhabited by one household. Some of the medieval and early modern taxation was based on farms, and thus the farms discussed by historians in Finland typically refer to the farms listed in the tax books.⁴² In a physical sense, a farm consisted of different buildings owned and used by the household(s) inhabiting the farm, as well as the land, fishing waters, and forests belonging the farm.⁴³

In archaeological material, a farmstead can typically be seen as a separate group of buildings and cultural layers connected to them. It can be difficult to tell different farmsteads apart based on archaeological material, especially on a village plot where there are

³⁹ See, e.g., Asplund 2008: 35–36.

⁴⁰ Cambridge Dictionary Online, visited 30.12.2020.

⁴¹ In Finnish, the word *talo*, ‘house’, is commonly used synonymously with *tila*, especially by historians.

⁴² Mäkelä 1979: 59–61; Mäkinen 2002: 35–36; Seppälä 2009: 63–72; Salminen 2013: 259–260.

⁴³ Voionmaa 1912: 188–189; Vuorela: 1975: 138, 295–300.

many overlapping and fragmentary structures.⁴⁴ In this work, simultaneous dwelling houses located apart from each other are interpreted as separate farms of a village, although the interpretations are often uncertain. The focus of the study is first on the farmstead and the people living there, and less so on the agricultural side of farms. It has been noted how the whole extent of farms, including areas outside the village plots, can be important for research if we want to understand agrarian settlement.⁴⁵ However, given the scope of this work, it is not possible to discuss agriculture and other subsistence in detail.

Village plots

Village plot or *toft* (Fi. *kylätontti*, Sw. *bytomt*) refers to the site where the farmsteads were located in a village. In this work, the term is used in a similar way as typically in Finnish and Swedish archaeology, referring to a place where all or some of the dwelling houses were located in a village. There may have been one or several plots in a single village, and the location of these plots could change throughout the period when the village was settled. The number of farmsteads on a plot could vary, and sometimes a single farm could have its own plot in the village area.⁴⁶

Houses and households

In this work, the terms *house* and *building* are used synonymously to refer to the individual physical buildings. The medieval farmsteads in Finland were inhabited by a group of people, a household, typically headed by a peasant. The concept of household has been discussed in archaeology, and it is typically defined as the smallest social unit or activity group.⁴⁷ To clarify the specific nature of the household as a small social unit, the term *co-resident domestic group* has also been used to limit the scope of the household to a domestic environment but to encompass all those “*who share the same physical space for the purposes of eating, sleeping and taking rest and leisure, growing up, child rearing and procreating*”.⁴⁸ This definition notes the importance of the shared physical space, which is a central thing for household archaeology: if the social aspects of building and living are taken into account along with the physical remains, the archaeology of buildings becomes the archaeology of households.⁴⁹ In medieval Western Finland, the nucleated family has been thought to constitute the normal household, but the mid-16th-century tax records show how other relatives or hired labourers could also live on the farms in both Finland and Sweden, meaning that the household could also include other members.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Beronius Jörpeland 2010: 20, 37–38.

⁴⁵ See, e.g. Eklund et al. 2007: 376–377 and the cited literature.

⁴⁶ Niukkanen 2009: 28–32; Beronius Jörpeland 2010: 7–9.

⁴⁷ E.g. Wilk & Rathje 1982: 618.

⁴⁸ Hammel & Laslett 1974: 75–79.

⁴⁹ Hendon 2004.

⁵⁰ Schmidt Sabo 2004: 117; Salminen 2013: 253–269.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines ‘peasant’ as “a member of a European class of persons tilling the soil as small landowners or as labourers”.⁵¹ This definition is very similar to the use of the term ‘peasant’ in this work, and the way in which it has typically been defined in Nordic historiography, even though in English the term also bears connotations of a low social position,⁵² which is not often associated with the Finnish and Swedish use of the term.

In the Nordic historiography, the term *peasant* (Fi. *talonpoika*, Sw. *bonde*) typically refers to a person who owns and farms land, synonymous with the term *freeholder* (Fi. *verotalonpoika*, Sw. *skattebonde*). Often the Crown’s tenants (Fi. *kruunun talonpoika*, Sw. *kronobonde*), and sometimes even the nobility’s tenants were counted as peasants, and in Sweden the position of the former in particular resembled that of the *freeholder*. Crofters (Fi. *torppari*, Sw. *torpare*) who only rented small pieces of land had a clearly different position than freeholders and tenants, and they are normally seen as a distinct group from the peasants.⁵³ In this work, the term ‘peasant’ is used to refer to those people who lived on the farms and were responsible for farming, and who can also be called farmers. In the five villages studied here, they were mainly freeholders in the mid-16th century.

1.4 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY⁵⁴ IN FINLAND – FROM MONUMENTS TO COMMON PEOPLE

In Finland, medieval and early modern rural sites have not been the focus of archaeology for long, although the archaeological study of historical sites began during the second half of the 19th century. At first, these studies mainly concentrated on monumental architecture and stone buildings, and the studied sites were mainly monasteries, castles, and stone churches.⁵⁵ The first urban excavations in Finland were done already in the late 19th century, but urban archaeology gained a stronger foothold in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1980s, medieval towns in Finland were surveyed following the example set by the Swedish Medeltidsstaden (‘Medieval Towns’) project, and at the turn of the millennium the early modern towns founded before 1721 were systematically surveyed.⁵⁶ At present, both medieval and early modern towns are an established object of study in Finland.

Archaeological interest in medieval rural sites started to awaken during the late 20th century as well. Already in 1984, state archaeologist C.J. Gardberg expressed a wish that archaeological research might be done at all kinds of sites that could shed light on the settlement history of Finland during the historical times, instead of focusing only on castles and the oldest town in Finland, Turku.⁵⁷ Even though Gardberg may first have meant that

⁵¹ The Merriam-Webster Dictionary online 2021, search word ‘peasant’.

⁵² See, e.g., Cambridge Dictionary online 2021, search word ‘peasant’.

⁵³ Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003b; Katajala 2006; Koskinen 2016a.

⁵⁴ The term ‘historical archaeology’ is discussed more closely in Chapter Four, and here it refers to archaeology that studies both medieval and postmedieval periods.

⁵⁵ Gardberg 1984; Taavitsainen 1999; Hiekkanen 2006a; Haggrén 2009c; Haggrén 2019.

⁵⁶ Hiekkanen 1981; 1983; 1988; Pihlman & Kostet 1986; Niukkanen 2004; Mökkönen 2007.

⁵⁷ Gardberg 1984: 70.



Fig. 1.4 Local museums have had a central role in the study and protection of medieval villages in Uusimaa. Site Lillas in Mårtensby, Vantaa, has been made accessible to public. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

excavations should be carried out at other medieval towns, the wish can also be seen to encompass rural sites.

In fact, rural sites had been surveyed and excavated in Northern and Western Finland, already prior to Gardberg's wish, in the 1970s and 1980s,⁵⁸ and in the 1990s they were excavated in different parts of the country.⁵⁹ However, the most extensive work on medieval rural sites has been carried out in Uusimaa since the beginning of the 21st century. In 2003, two medieval village sites, Gubbacka in Västerson and Köklax, were extensively excavated in connection to building projects.⁶⁰ Besides rescue excavations, a number of research projects have surveyed and excavated sites in the region. The local museums have been active in organising the research projects (Fig 1.4),⁶¹ often together with the University of Helsinki, like in the case of Mankby, where Espoo City Museum and the University of Helsinki excavated the medieval village plot jointly for seven seasons, from 2007 to 2013.⁶²

There have been various research projects based at the University of Helsinki focusing on rural settlement, starting with student projects, first in the 1990s on manors,⁶³ and later

⁵⁸ E.g. Kostet & Närhi 1979; Koivunen 1980a; 1980b; Luoto 1984b; Närhi 1984.

⁵⁹ E.g. Tvaari 1993; Suhonen & Vuorinen 1997; Nissinaho 2002; Vuoristo 2004; Taivainen 2005; see also Haggrén 2009c; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016a.

⁶⁰ Suhonen 2005; Haggrén 2005b.

⁶¹ E.g. Lindholm 1999; Koivisto 2011b; Heinonen & Koivisto 2012.

⁶² Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016a.

⁶³ Project SUKKA – Suomen kartanolaitos keskiajalla; see Niukkanen 1997.

in the early 2000s on the village settlement in Uusimaa.⁶⁴ Several projects have aimed to study the relationship between the Iron Age settlement and the medieval villages in the area. During these projects, medieval villages have been intensively surveyed, especially in the western Uusimaa.⁶⁵ A number of sites have been excavated, producing a great deal of new information on the medieval and early modern material culture of the villages, and playing an important role in developing the excavation methodology.⁶⁶ So far, excavation results from three sites located in central Uusimaa and studied in this work – Gubbacka in Västernorrland, Mårtensby, and Mankby – have been extensively published.⁶⁷ In other parts of Finland, the most extensive rural archaeology has mainly been done in connection to development projects, and in some cases medieval layers have been studied during excavation projects focusing primarily on the Iron Age phases of a given site.⁶⁸

As yet, only two doctoral dissertations have focused on medieval or early modern rural settlement archaeology in Finland. In his dissertation, Juha-Matti Vuorinen studied the building practices at the Mulli site in Finland Proper.⁶⁹ Vuorinen focused on the Iron Age settlement of the site but also discussed the early medieval building phases. In his doctoral thesis, Ville Laakso studied a deserted medieval and early modern village in Papinniemi in Eastern Finland.⁷⁰ Laakso discussed the settlement remains in his work, although his main focus was on the village church and the cemetery connected to it. In addition, Päivi Maaranen's dissertation focusing on landscape and environment included case studies on medieval and early modern settlements in Southern Finland.⁷¹

In addition to these doctoral theses, a number of master's theses in all three universities that teach archaeology in Finland⁷² have focused on different aspects of rural material, such as object groups like ceramics, construction details like ovens, or methodological questions such as cadastral maps, as a source of information on medieval and early modern settlements. Many of these theses have focused on material from Uusimaa.⁷³

Despite the growing number of studies on medieval and early modern rural sites, there have still rarely been extensive or systematic comparisons between different sites. Resulting from this, it has been common to characterise several of the sites as surprisingly rich or in other ways exceptional based on the archaeological material.⁷⁴ Therefore, one of the central aims of this study is to compare the buildings and the finds from the five villages to better understand what has been common and what was more exceptional. In the future, similar comparisons between different areas in Finland will hopefully become possible as the material increases. It would also be beneficial to combine the archaeological material with historical sources more extensively than is currently being done.

⁶⁴ Project MARK – Medeltidsarkeologi på landsbygden; see Rosendahl 2007a.

⁶⁵ Haggrén & Lavento 2011; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016a.

⁶⁶ Heinonen 2015b; Holappa 2016.

⁶⁷ Koivisto et al. 2010; Russow 2012; Heinonen 2015a; Harjula et al. 2016; Väisänen 2016.

⁶⁸ E.g. Vuorinen 2009; Luoto 2010; Salminen 2010; Raninen 2017a; 2017b; Päijät-Hämeen alueellinen vastuumuseo 2020.

⁶⁹ Vuorinen 2009.

⁷⁰ Laakso 2014.

⁷¹ Maaranen 2017.

⁷² These universities are the University of Helsinki, the University of Turku and the University of Oulu.

⁷³ E.g. Hämäläinen 2009; Koivisto, R. 2009; Heinonen 2015a; Mikkonen 2015; Debenjak 2018.

⁷⁴ E.g. Koivisto, R., 2009: 98; Koivisto & Väisänen 2014: 3; Terävä 2016.

Even though the sites studied in Finnish historical archaeology have become more varied during the 21st century, rural historical archaeology in Finland is still mainly focused on medieval sites, while early modern sites are mainly excavated as part of rescue archaeology in towns. Researchers are still sometimes faced with an attitude of early modern and modern sites not being worth studying, as there are plenty of available written sources that treat them.⁷⁵ However, they have great research potential, as is clearly shown by both the urban and rural sites studied in Finland.⁷⁶

Although historical sites are currently studied on a regular basis in Finland, there is still quite little collaboration between historians and archaeologists working with similar topics. The situation goes back to the turn of the 20th century when the two fields became clearly differentiated and remained so until the late 20th century.⁷⁷ The situation is gradually changing, but it is still more common for archaeologists to study both archaeological material and historical sources than the other way around, and the number of joint projects is still quite small, especially where rural sites are concerned, despite some exceptions.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Seppänen 2015: 153–155.

⁷⁶ E.g. Ylimaunu 2007; Nurmi 2011; Kallio-Seppä 2013; Heinonen 2015a.

⁷⁷ Haggrén 2015b: 78–79.

⁷⁸ E.g. Harjula et al. 2018; Savolainen & Immonen 2019; see also Seppänen 2015.

2 THE STAGE – UUSIMAA IN THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PERIODS

Uusimaa is the southernmost region of Finland, located on the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland. The southern part of the region is a coastal environment with several rivers flowing from the northern inland towards the seaside in the south, where small islands form an archipelago along the coast. The main type of soil in the region between the rocky outcrops is heavy clay, with smaller sandy areas and some moraine ridges, especially in the northern part of the region.⁷⁹ Shore displacement has notably changed the local landscape since the last Ice Age ended some 10,000 years ago,⁸⁰ also affecting the settlement history of the area.

The first signs of settlement in Uusimaa date to the Mesolithic Stone Age.⁸¹ Neolithic cultural layers have been found at two of the sites studied here, Mankby and Mårtensby, and there are some Stone Age artefacts among the finds from Mäkkylä and Köklax as well, although the settlement did not continue at any of the sites from the Stone Age to later periods.⁸² During the Late Iron Age, around the year 1000 AD, the sea level was approximately 2 metres higher than today in the central part of Uusimaa, and 3 metres higher in the western part of the region. By the Late Middle Ages, the level varied between 1–1.5 metres higher than currently.⁸³

Like most of modern-day Southern Finland, Uusimaa was part of the Swedish realm in the Middle Ages. In this chapter, an overview of the history of the area during the studied period is given, including both a general background of the historical developments in Sweden and a more detailed account of the special conditions in the region itself. As the Late Iron Age land use in Uusimaa had a profound impact on the medieval settlement of the area, it is also discussed in this chapter.

2.1 FINLAND AND THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SWEDEN

The process during which Finland became *Österland*, the eastern part of the Swedish realm, was a gradual one starting around the time when the Iron Age ended in Western Finland and continuing throughout the Middle Ages.⁸⁴ During the process, both the Catholic Church and the Swedish Crown established their administration and taxation in the area, and the society went through significant changes. In the Late Iron Age, Finnish society was based on relatively small social units. Some of the settlements in the central regions of Finland Proper, Tavastia and Satakunta, may have been based on small villages or hamlets already in the

⁷⁹ Geological Survey of Finland 2020.

⁸⁰ Miettinen 2011.

⁸¹ Takala 2005; Leskinen & Pesonen 2008; Halinen 2015: 31–33. The Mesolithic Period is dated to 8850–5200 BC and the Neolithic to 5300–1900/1700 in Finland; see Halinen 2015.

⁸² Haggrén et al. 2004: 29; Koivisto et al. 2013: 72–73; ark-byroo 2016; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b.

⁸³ Miettinen 2011.

⁸⁴ This process happened at different times in different parts of modern-day Finland. In this chapter, the process is primarily discussed in terms of the development in southern Finland, which is the focus of this work.

Viking Age, but a large part of the population lived on single farms, possibly inhabited by large households. Outside the core regions of the settlements, subsistence mostly consisted of slash-and-burn cultivation, hunting, and fishing, although more sedentary agriculture occurred as well. These areas were used as more or less seasonal outland resources by the inhabitants of central settlement areas, but there were also local groups inhabiting the 'wilderness' more permanently.⁸⁵

The Late Iron Age society in Finland has often been thought as fairly egalitarian, with only small differences in wealth between different farms or persons.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, based on burials, some status differences did exist. Only part of the population seems to be represented in the archaeologically studied burial grounds, and there are significant differences in the grave goods of those who were buried there. The richest burials may represent local elites that likely had some local power, but currently it is widely believed that no large or permanent close-knit political or social units above local communities existed in Finland during the Iron Age⁸⁷ (although some researchers date the origins of the historical provinces and parishes to the Late Iron Age).⁸⁸ In any case, it seems that Finland or the given regions in the area did not form a coherent political or social unit at this point, although interaction and co-operation between people existed on both local and wider levels.

The old social organisation started to change during the Early Middle Ages. Finland was gradually incorporated into the Swedish realm and emerging central administration, and the Catholic Church gained a strong foothold in the area. The process of Swedish *riksbildning*, or state-building, started around the beginning of the second millennium, when Svealand and Götaland in Central Sweden began to tighten their contacts. The exact point when these regions could be called the Swedish realm is hard to define, but from the mid-12th century onwards, the position of the king was acknowledged by the surrounding areas and the Church. It was around this time when Sweden also started to express a strong interest for the Finnish areas in the east.⁸⁹

The process through which Finland was incorporated into the growing realm was a gradual one, beginning in the 12th century as part of the power politics in the northern Baltic Sea, and resulting in Western Finland being consolidated in the Swedish kingdom by the second half of the 13th century. During this process, both ecclesiastic and secular administrations as well as jurisdiction were organised in Finland following the same principles as in Sweden.⁹⁰ According to the traditional view, three crusades from Sweden to Finland, with the first one in the 1150s, played a central part in joining Finland to the emerging realm. As Christian religion was already familiar, especially in Western Finland, by the mid-12th century, the dating as well as the exact nature of these Swedish campaigns has been discussed. However, the first campaign likely played a role in strengthening the influence of both the Catholic Church and the Swedish Crown in the area.⁹¹ Becoming part of

⁸⁵ Schauman-Lönnqvist 1988: 92–96; Nissinaho 2003: 95–96, 113–114; Pihlman 2004; Raninen & Wessman 2014: 333–334; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 310–311; Tiilikkala 2016.

⁸⁶ E.g. Meinander 1980.

⁸⁷ E.g. Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982a: 41; Taavitsainen 1990: 155–161; Pihlman 2004: 81–82; Asplund 2008: 331–340; Kuusela 2009; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 312–317.

⁸⁸ E.g. Meinander 1980.

⁸⁹ Lindkvist 2002; Harrison 2009.

⁹⁰ Lindkvist 2002: 40–49; Salminen 2013: 105–110.

⁹¹ Purhonen 1998; Hiekkänen 2007: 11–16; Lehtonen 2007; Lindkvist 2007.

the Catholic world meant changes in the society. An important one was the abolishment of slavery in Sweden by the 14th century.⁹² The role of slavery in Iron Age Finland is less well known, but a similar shift presumably happened in Finland as well.⁹³

The medieval society in Sweden was based on free men. Some of them belonged to groups which were granted privileges by the Crown, but most were rural inhabitants who instead of privileges mainly had responsibilities. The social groups in the Swedish realm followed the lines of the traditional view on medieval estates, consisting of the nobility, the clergy, and the peasantry, and later also the burghers.⁹⁴ It is important to note that the question of it being possible to categorise the medieval society according to these estates, closely connected to the ideas of feudalism all over Europe throughout the Middle Ages, has been critically discussed.⁹⁵ However, by the early modern period they do properly reflect the idea according to which the society was understood and organised in Sweden, as the groups represented in the national diet, *Riksdag*, were explicitly defined as the four estates mentioned above.⁹⁶

Consolidation of the new social order was a gradual process with several steps: granting privileges to different groups, forming shared ideas and concepts of them, and finally organising the system of representation according to the four estates.⁹⁷ In Sweden, the privileges of both the nobility (Fi. *rälssi*, Sw. *frälse*) and the ecclesiastic aristocracy and their relationship to the Crown were consolidated during the second half of the 13th century. The Ordinance of Alsnö, given around 1280, granted an exemption from land tax for those who served as cavalrymen, creating bases for the nobility. The clergy was granted the same exemption the following year.⁹⁸ Similarly, the burghers formed their own distinguished group during the 13th and 14th centuries. The growing importance and autonomous administration of towns granted the burghers an established position, which was consolidated in the town laws.⁹⁹ The fourth and largest estate in Sweden was formed by the peasants. In contrast to the above-mentioned groups, they were not given any specific privileges. Although their right to their own land was normally seen as a strong one, especially by themselves, it was not written down in special ordinances in the same way as the privileges of the other estates.¹⁰⁰

As the consolidation of the different groups was a gradual process, their meanings changed somewhat between the 13th and 16th centuries. This is especially clear in the case of the nobility. The medieval *frälse* in Sweden was not equal to the later *adel*, although both can be translated as 'nobility'.¹⁰¹ In the beginning, the *frälse* rights were not hereditary but tied to the ability to equip a cavalryman, and as such they could be lost. The *frälse* became a hereditary group first in the mid-16th century, when Sweden became a hereditary monarchy and new privileges were defined for the nobility. However, even after this, the nobility was not a closed group; instead, new members were recruited during the early modern period.¹⁰²

⁹² Harrison 2009: 226–234.

⁹³ Pihlman 2004; Suhonen 2007; Raninen 2017a.

⁹⁴ See Duby 1982; Kallioinen 1996; Harrison & Eriksson 2010: 109–113.

⁹⁵ E.g. Reynolds 1994; Hietaniemi et al. 1997; Lehtonen 1997; Oexle 2001; Svensson 2007: 189; Tahkokallio 2019.

⁹⁶ Jutikkala 1978: 65–66; Englund 1989: 25–48.

⁹⁷ Kallioinen 1995: 6; Katajala 2006.

⁹⁸ Lindkvist 2002: 43; Harrison 2009: 397–401.

⁹⁹ Kallioinen 1996; 2000: 87–90; Harrison 2009: 256–265.

¹⁰⁰ Katajala 2006: 792–793.

¹⁰¹ Lahtinen 2020.

¹⁰² Anthoni 1970; Lundholm 1971; Jutikkala 1971; Englund 1989; Salminen 2013: 277; Harrison & Eriksson

In contrast to many other areas in Europe, the borders between the different estates were fairly flexible in medieval Sweden, especially in the 13th and 14th centuries. People were connected to these groups by privileges and responsibilities defined by the Crown, but they could also move within and between the groups by acquiring wealth or privileges.¹⁰³ Nobility was not a closed group but merely defined by the ability to equip a cavalry soldier. Peasants and noblemen could move into towns and become burghers, and clergy were recruited from all the other groups. People could enhance their social position by accumulating wealth and rising to local elites. Therefore, a person's wealth did not always correlate to the estate a person belonged to; a wealthy burgher or even a peasant could be richer than the poorer members of the nobility. Marriages between different groups, even peasants and nobility, also took place in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁴

From the 15th century onwards, the political representation based on the four estates started to become more organised in Sweden. This development reached a more consolidated form during the second half of the 16th century, when the *Riksdag* of the estates, the national diet, became a permanent form of representation, based on an assembly of the four estates.¹⁰⁵ During the same period, the borders between the different groups started to become more rigid.¹⁰⁶ Still, even in the early modern period the differences in wealth or social position within the different groups were sometimes greater than the differences between them.¹⁰⁷

The 16th century in Sweden was marked by several changes initiated by Gustav I, who ascended the Swedish throne in 1523. The reign of Gustav I has traditionally been considered to mark the end of the Middle Ages in Sweden, and changes such as the Reformation, more effective taxation, and the introduction of a hereditary monarchy happened during this period (1523–1560). Gustav's sons continued to improve the administration, as the continuous wars demanded a continuous and growing income for the Crown.¹⁰⁸ The wars entailed a great burden for peasants because of the hard taxation and conscription, and many farms were left deserted in the late 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁰⁹ However, the wars also meant an opportunity for social ascent through military service.¹¹⁰ The administration was further improved during the 1620s, when Gustav II Adolf continued to expand the realm through military campaigns. By the second half of the 17th century, Sweden had become a Great Power and a strictly centralised state, and a more rigid system of social order was established.¹¹¹

One of the most profound changes for rural settlement caused by the constant warfare was that more land ended up in the hands of noblemen. During the late 16th century, an increasing number of impoverished peasant farms lost their ability to pay taxes, and the nobility bought them. Many farms also ended up in the hands of wealthy commoners, especially the people involved in local administration and peasants who started equipping

2010: 435–443.

¹⁰³ Småberg 2004: 228–229.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Anthoni 1970: 243–244; Jutikkala 1971: 107–117; Kallioinen 1995: 93–95; Huldén 1998; Svensson 2008: 27–32; 2014: 69–70; Koskinen 2016a.

¹⁰⁵ Jutikkala 1978: 65–66; Kallioinen 2000: 87–96, 115–129; Harrison & Eriksson 2010: 467–468.

¹⁰⁶ Småberg 2004: 228–229.

¹⁰⁷ Jutikkala 1971: 107–117; Suvanto 1987; 1995; Huldén 1998; Rosén 2004: 44–45.

¹⁰⁸ Harrison & Eriksson 2010.

¹⁰⁹ Mäkelä 1979; Jutikkala 1981: 135–139.

¹¹⁰ Renvall 1949: 162–165; Jutikkala 1958: 121–128; Kuisma 1990: 336.

¹¹¹ Englund 1989.

cavalry soldiers. Besides increased wealth, equipping a cavalryman could also offer peasants an opportunity for social ascent.¹¹² The number of enfeoffments reached its peak during the last years of Queen Christina's reign in the mid-17th century, when approximately half of the farms in Finland, and about 70% on the Swedish side of the realm, had ended up under the nobility.¹¹³

2.2 SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF UUSIMAA FROM THE IRON AGE TO THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

In the Late Middle Ages, Uusimaa was one of the central settlement areas on the Finnish side of the Swedish realm. However, the settlement history of Uusimaa differs from the other central regions of Southern and Western Finland. Previously, it was thought that during the Late Iron Age the coastal area of Uusimaa was only used as an outland resource by people originating from Tavastia and Finland Proper. Based on the lack of burial grounds and settlement sites, it was believed that there was no permanent settlement in the coastal area of Uusimaa during the later Iron Age, before a wave of Swedish colonists reached the area during the Early Middle Ages.¹¹⁴ However, recent archaeological, palaeoecological, historical, and onomastic studies have changed the picture.

Pollen analyses conducted especially by Teija Alenius have shown that the first signs of agriculture in Uusimaa date to the Early Iron Age, from 500 BC onwards, and a more intensive period of land use started during the Migration Period.¹¹⁵ Permanent field cultivation in most areas started during the Viking Age at the latest and intensified between 950–1100 AD, but even during this latter period the cultivated area remained small and the intensity of farming quite low.¹¹⁶

Archaeological surveys and excavations conducted in the region during the past decades have shown that the settlement in Uusimaa predates the colonisation period, but the number of sites, especially those dating to the Late Iron Age, has remained low. Several sites dating to the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period are known from different parts of Uusimaa, but the number of sites seems to drop at the beginning of the Viking Age.¹¹⁷ It has been proposed that around this time, the richly furnished burials from earlier periods of the Iron Age were replaced by unfurnished inhumation graves, making it harder to find the burial sites.¹¹⁸ Another suggested explanation has been that the small number of sites might be connected to the excavation methodology, which has typically been based on small trenches instead of large excavation areas, making it difficult to identify the settlement sites.¹¹⁹ However, as Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen has noted, it is unlikely that the lack of sites from only a given period can be explained simply by them not having been found,

¹¹² Orrman 1984: 78–89; Koskinen 2016a.

¹¹³ Jokipii 1987: 236–239.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Hackman 1917; Meinander 1983.

¹¹⁵ The dates for the Iron Age periods discussed in this chapter are the Migration Period (400–600 AD), Merovingian Period (600–800), Viking Age (800–1025/50), and Crusade Period (1025/50–1150/1200).

¹¹⁶ Alenius 2011; Alenius et al. 2014; Alenius et al. 2017: 21–22.

¹¹⁷ Forsén & Moisanen 1995; Wickholm 2000.

¹¹⁸ Forsén & Moisanen 1995; Rosendahl 2016.

¹¹⁹ Vanhanen & Koivisto 2015.

particularly if older and younger sites are known in larger numbers.¹²⁰ Thus, it is likely that the small number of sites is at least partly connected to changes in the intensity of the land use during the Late Iron Age.

Even the increased activity of amateur metal detectorists has provided only little evidence of Iron Age settlement in Uusimaa. In Espoo, some Iron Age dress ornaments have been found, but no settlement sites or burials connected to these have been located so far.¹²¹ In other parts of Uusimaa, fewer Iron Age objects have been recovered, or at least reported to the authorities.¹²² It is also important to note that the dating of many of the Late Iron Age objects is currently being re-evaluated and the chronologies are changing,¹²³ so it is possible that some of the Iron Age-type objects found in Uusimaa were actually still used during the medieval period.

The exact nature of the Late Iron Age land use is still unclear, but based on the archaeological evidence – and in some cases the lack of it – it seems to have varied in different parts of Uusimaa. A number of Late Iron Age sites are known from the western part of the region, where permanent settlement likely continued until the Middle Ages without clear breaks, while less sites have been found in the central and eastern parts of Uusimaa, where the land use may have had a more seasonal character.¹²⁴ There are written documents from the 14th century showing that people from Tavastia used the coastal areas of central and eastern Uusimaa for long-distance fishing, and the practice likely began during the Iron Age.¹²⁵

The relationship between the earlier land use or settlement and the medieval villages is still unclear in Uusimaa. There seems to be settlement continuity from the Iron Age to the medieval period at some sites, mainly in western Uusimaa, where some excavations on medieval village sites have yielded remains from the Late Iron Age.¹²⁶ However, most of the excavated medieval villages in central Uusimaa seem to have been settled first during the colonisation period in the 12th and 13th centuries. This is also true for the villages with a Finnish name, which would suggest that these were founded during the same time as the Swedish villages. As there appears to be no clear continuity between the earlier settlement and the medieval village sites, the land use was likely reorganised during the colonisation period, with settlement being focused in new places within areas that had already been used before.¹²⁷

Based on the layer of Finnish place names that predate the medieval Swedish ones, the Iron Age settlers in Uusimaa spoke different Finnish dialects. The old Finnish names in western Uusimaa are mostly based on dialects spoken in Finland Proper and the names in eastern Uusimaa mostly originate from Tavastian dialects, suggesting that the different parts of the region had contacts in different inland areas (Fig. 2.1).¹²⁸ Interestingly, many of the Iron Age objects found by the metal detectorists in Espoo during the past years are typ-

¹²⁰ Taavitsainen 2002: 104.

¹²¹ Wessman 2016.

¹²² Finnish Heritage Agency, Muinaiskalupäiväkirja 2021. As the National Heritage Agency's open access register Muinaiskalupäiväkirja is updated only gradually, it may not contain all the latest information about metal-detecting finds in Uusimaa.

¹²³ See Mikkola 2009; 2019.

¹²⁴ Forsén & Moisanen 1995; Wickholm 2000; Maaranen 2017: 140–141; Heinonen 2020; Knuutinen 2021.

¹²⁵ Salminen 2013.

¹²⁶ Haggrén et al. 2003; Jansson et al. 2010: 82; Haggrén 2011b: 9–11; Jansson 2011; Koivisto 2011b: 69–71.

¹²⁷ Heinonen 2021b.

¹²⁸ Kepsu 2005.



Fig. 2.1 Tavastby (Fi. Hämeenkylä) in Vantaa is one of the villages in Uusimaa where the first settlers likely spoke Tavastian dialects. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

ical for Karelia and Savo regions in Eastern Finland, which might indicate that there were also contacts between those regions and Uusimaa.¹²⁹

Despite the increasing evidence of Iron Age land use in Uusimaa, the settlement appears to have been quite scarce before the Middle Ages. The settlement started to increase only during the Early Middle Ages, when a large number of new settlers arrived in the area from Sweden. As a result of this colonisation, Uusimaa gradually became a part of the area ruled by the emerging Swedish realm between the 12th and 14th centuries. Colonisation from Sweden to Uusimaa was not a unique phenomenon during the first centuries of the second millennium AD. The Germans and Danes undertook several crusades to the Baltic lands in the 13th and 14th centuries with the mission to convert the locals and, as a result, they gained power in these areas.¹³⁰ However, the process was quite different in the Baltic lands than in Finland. The Baltic crusades and the colonisation connected to them had a violent military character, and they resulted in a new foreign elite being established in the area. The locals were left under the control of the new elite without any significant role in the emerging power structures.¹³¹ The Swedish colonisation of Finland, on the other hand, was mainly agrarian in its character, even though some military campaigns motivated by religion were directed to the Finnish areas during this process. Most of the colonists were peasants, although the elites played a role in organising the colonisation.¹³²

¹²⁹ Wessman 2016.

¹³⁰ Kala 2001; Ehlers 2001.

¹³¹ Kala 2001: 3–6.

¹³² Lindkvist 2001; 2002: 43–49.

Due to the lack of historical documents, the colonisation of Uusimaa and the reasons behind it are not well known. One key factor seems to have been the population increase in Central Sweden as a result of favourable environmental conditions. Colonisation eased the population pressure in the central areas of the realm. Another important factor may have been the gradual abolishment of slavery in Sweden during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, which created a large group of people in need of land. The colonisation of Uusimaa was part of a larger immigration movement from Central Sweden to the north, south and east. Besides Uusimaa, Finland Proper and Ostrobothnia in Western Finland and the islands of Western Estonia received new settlers from Sweden.¹³³ What made Uusimaa an especially lucrative area for the colonists were the agricultural possibilities offered by the fertile clay soils. Eljas Orrman has suggested that the Swedish newcomers had suitable agricultural technology to effectively cultivate these clay soils, enabling the settlement and cultivation to spread around the coastal area.¹³⁴

According to current research, the first settlers from Sweden came to Uusimaa during the second half of the 12th century, and settlements became permanent by the early 13th century in some parts of the region. Colonisation was mostly directed to the coastal zone, and it continued in waves until the mid-14th century. After this, following the plague epidemic known as the Black Death, the population pressure in Sweden was eased.¹³⁵ As noted, the colonisation has been considered to have primarily been a peasant movement.¹³⁶ However, the examples from other areas colonised by the Swedes during the 14th century show that the elites played a role in the process as well. In Norrland, for example, the role of the Crown's officials and the nobility was central, and especially in the 1320s and 1330s it was common for the nobility to use their clients as locators, who recruited new immigrants and settled them in new areas. Several villages in the core area of the medieval parish of Helsingfors may have gotten their names due to a similar process, during which the settlement was organised and administration established: Brutubys referring to a locator (*bryti*), Domarby to a judge, Skattmansby to a person who collected the taxes, and Tolkby to an interpreter who translated between the Swedish and Finnish speakers.¹³⁷ The nobility also played a central role in securing strategically important places along the coast of Uusimaa. Manors were founded especially at the nodal points along sailing routes and roads, and at important borders.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the nobility was involved in organising the ecclesiastic administration in the area. In western Uusimaa, the connection between the parish churches and the significant manors is evident.¹³⁹

Although the details of the colonisation process are unclear, it seems that the relationship between the earlier land users and colonists was quite peaceful and mainly based on co-operation.¹⁴⁰ Place names show that in many cases, the earliest Swedish settlement was established among the Finnish settlement sites. Villages with Finnish and Swedish names are located next to each other, and in many villages there are place names based on both

¹³³ Lindkvist 2002: 46–47; Rosendahl 2008a: 61–64; Haggrén 2011b: 13–15; Harrison 2009.

¹³⁴ Orrman 1987b; 1991.

¹³⁵ Rosendahl 2008a: 61; Haggrén 2011a: 154; Haggrén 2011b: 12–15.

¹³⁶ See Lindkvist 2002: 46–47; Haggrén 2007; Rosendahl 2008a; Haggrén 2011a: 154.

¹³⁷ Kepsu 2005; Haggrén 2011b: 14–15; Salminen 2013: 118–124.

¹³⁸ Salminen 2013: 118–124; Haggrén 2018.

¹³⁹ Haggrén 2007; Haggrén 2011b: 14–15.

¹⁴⁰ Heinonen 2020.

languages.¹⁴¹ In order for the place names to be loaned from one language to another to this degree, there has to have been long-lasting co-operation between the two language groups, and even some degree of bilingualism.¹⁴² A similar co-operative relationship seems to have been the rule on the Bothnian coast as well, which was also colonised by the Swedes during the Middle Ages.¹⁴³ Some conflicts arose between the different groups in Uusimaa during the 14th century when the administration and legislation were reinforced, but instead of resulting to violence these conflicts were settled in court.¹⁴⁴

The medieval administration in Uusimaa was organised and consolidated by the Catholic Church and the Swedish Crown during the colonisation period. Based on the changes in burial customs, Christianity had already been introduced in Western Finland and Tavastia during the Late Iron Age, and it gained some popularity during the Viking Age and especially the Crusade Period. However, the ecclesiastical administration was not organised before the 13th century, and most of the earlier churches were likely founded by the local elites.¹⁴⁵ The small wooden church excavated in Ristimäki in Ravattula, Finland Proper, used in the late 12th and 13th centuries, is a recently excavated example of the local churches used in Southern Finland before the parish organisation was established.¹⁴⁶

According to the current research, the first ecclesiastical parishes in western Uusimaa were established between 1220 and 1260, and in eastern Uusimaa a few decades later.¹⁴⁷ The region is first mentioned in written documents in 1310 as one of the areas ruled over by Duke Valdemar,¹⁴⁸ and by 1326 it had become a 'province of the seal' under the Swedish king.¹⁴⁹ Around the year 1375, the region was divided into two separate provinces, the castle province of Raasepori in the west and the province of Porvoo in the east.¹⁵⁰

Although the Swedish administration and settlers had a central role in medieval Uusimaa, the area also had lively contacts with Northern Estonia especially through peasant trade.¹⁵¹ The Padise Abbey, located in Northern Estonia, had notable landed properties in Uusimaa in the 14th and 15th centuries. Tapio Salminen has estimated that altogether 6% of the farms in western Uusimaa were tenants under the abbey during the second half of the 14th century. The abbey also held the patronage over Porvoo and the fishing rights in the Vantaa River, making the monks important actors in the area.¹⁵²

Ulrika Rosendahl has suggested that the meeting of the different groups in medieval Uusimaa was a dynamic process which led to a local hybrid culture and probably to widespread bilingualism during the Middle Ages. Although by the 16th century there was a clear linguistic border visible in many parishes, with a Swedish-speaking coast and

¹⁴¹ Kepsu 2005.

¹⁴² Pitkänen 1985: 352–353.

¹⁴³ Kuusela et al. 2016.

¹⁴⁴ Heinonen 2020.

¹⁴⁵ Haggrén 2005d; Hiekkänen 2007: 15–16.

¹⁴⁶ Ruohonen 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Hiekkänen 2005b; 2007: 16, 428–490.

¹⁴⁸ DF 6572; Haggrén 2011a: 152; Haggrén 2011b: 15–16.

¹⁴⁹ DF 330; Haggrén 2011b: 16.

¹⁵⁰ Haggrén 2011a: 154–156.

¹⁵¹ Kerkkonen 1959: 12–35.

¹⁵² Salminen 2011: 46–51.

Finnish-speaking inland, the border between these was not a rigid one, and the interaction between different parts of the parishes was lively regardless of the language difference.¹⁵³

2.3 MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN RURAL SETTLEMENT IN UUSIMAA

As most of the people lived in the rural areas, the medieval and early modern settlements in Finland were based on farms, which formed hamlets and villages. The first villages in Finland were likely founded during the Late Iron Age, but in many cases this may not have happened until the medieval period.¹⁵⁴ There are several examples from different areas in Finland where the settlement in the area of a medieval village dates back to the Iron Age, but the farmsteads were first moved to the historical village plot during the medieval or early modern period.¹⁵⁵ A similar development has been shown in Central Sweden, where Iron Age or medieval settlements are often found dispersed around the village area instead of the early modern village plots depicted on the historical maps.¹⁵⁶

Although only a small number of Iron Age settlement sites have been excavated in Uusimaa, these may shed light on the settlement development there. There is evidence of Iron Age activities in at least two of the medieval plots in the village of Hangö. This suggests that there were several Iron Age farmsteads in the area, possibly indicating early village settlement.¹⁵⁷ Settlement in the Karjaa region was also dense during the Late Iron Age, and there was settlement in the area of many of the medieval villages already during the Iron Age.¹⁵⁸ Still, it seems that many of the archaeologically studied villages in Uusimaa were first founded during the period of Swedish colonisation between the 12th and early 14th centuries, and there are only a few cases where an Iron Age settlement can be interpreted as early villages.¹⁵⁹ This resembles the situation in other areas of Finland, as well as in Central Sweden, which is not surprising, as the settlers mainly originated from these areas.

In the area of modern-day Finland, the medieval and early modern settlements were by rule quite small compared to European villages.¹⁶⁰ The number of farms was often quite minimal, and the same applies to the extent of agriculture. In Uusimaa, most of the medieval villages consisted of six farms or less. In western Uusimaa, the biggest villages rarely had more than ten farms, and even though the largest villages in eastern Uusimaa could consist of 30 farms, most of the villages had less than ten.¹⁶¹ Another point of difference between the Finnish settlements and European villages was that in Finland it was rare to have a church in the village. For example, in the church parish of Helsinge, there were 459 farms in the 1540s, but only a single parish church.¹⁶²

¹⁵³ Kepsu 2005; Rosendahl 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Meinander 1980; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982b: 53–57; Schauman-Lönnqvist 1988: 92–96; Tusa 1993; Lehtonen 2000; Saloranta 2000; Asplund 2008: 33–37; Vuorinen 2009: 202–206.

¹⁵⁵ Lehtonen 2000; Pihlman 2004; Tiilikkala 2016; Raninen 2017a: 41–42.

¹⁵⁶ Beronius Jörpeland 2011a.

¹⁵⁷ Haggrén et al. 2008a; Jansson et al. 2010: 82.

¹⁵⁸ Forsén & Moisanen 1995; Haggrén et al. 2003; Wickholm 2000; Knuutinen 2021.

¹⁵⁹ Heinonen 2021b.

¹⁶⁰ Myrdal & Söderberg 1991: 100–106.

¹⁶¹ Allardt 1898: Tables 3a–3c, XIV–XIX; Nikander 1975 [1916]: 11; Haggrén 2011a: 163–164;

¹⁶² Salminen 2013: 260.

The earliest spatial information about the settlements in Uusimaa comes from the 1640s, when the first cadastral maps were drawn in the region. The maps show a landscape where rural settlements were organised in villages, with fields and meadows surrounding the plots where the dwelling houses were located. Between the settlements, forests, rocky areas, and waterways typically characterised the landscape. These were the outlands used by the villages for hunting and fishing or gathering wood. The farms were organised on one or several village plots, typically close to the fields. In many cases, the plot was located between the two main field areas of the village.¹⁶³ However, although the first maps show the early modern location of the settlement, the medieval settlement may have been organised differently. There are many examples of how the names and locations of the villages and farms could change even as late as the 16th and 17th centuries, and both written records and archaeological material indicate that this had happened during the Middle Ages as well.¹⁶⁴

Farmers in medieval and early modern Finland, and Sweden in general, were free compared to most parts of Europe. The feudalistic system where landownership was focused in the hands of the nobility and most of the peasants lived as tenant farmers on noble land did not gain a strong foothold in Finland, reflecting a significant difference from Central and Western Europe, and even southern Scandinavia.¹⁶⁵ Eljas Orrman has calculated that in the 1530s, about 93.3% of the farms in Finland belonged to freeholders, 1.0% were farmed by the Crown's leaseholders, 2.6% by the Church's leaseholders, and 3.1% by the nobility's leaseholders.¹⁶⁶

The role of both the nobility and the clergy was relatively small in medieval Finland. The number of noblemen varied considerably between parishes. In Uusimaa, there was a large number of manors in Porvoo and Pernå in the east, but in the central part of the region, where the studied villages are located, their number was small. In Helsinge, there were only three manors in the mid-16th century.¹⁶⁷ In Espoo, the number of manors started to grow first during the late 16th century and just one small manor, Gräsa, was granted its rights in the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁸ In Sipoo, there is no clear evidence of manors prior to Gustav I's reign.¹⁶⁹ Written records bear some indications that there may have been more noblemen living in the area in the Middle Ages; overall, the number of noblemen decreased in Sweden during the reign of Gustav I.¹⁷⁰ However, in the 16th century, only around twenty peasants in Uusimaa paid the *flöte* tax, which was typically imposed on the impoverished noblemen. This is a very small number compared to Finland Proper, where over a hundred persons paid the tax.¹⁷¹

The role of the ecclesiastical elites remained small in Uusimaa and Finland in general. Very few members of the clergy lived in the parishes, as there was typically only one church in a parish, although new churches and chapels were founded throughout the medieval period. For example, the area of Espoo used to belong to the church parish of Kirkkonummi

¹⁶³ Orrman 2003: 115–118; Haggrén 2009a: 31.

¹⁶⁴ Suhonen 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Jutikkala 1978: 41–59.

¹⁶⁶ Orrman 1984: 69–70.

¹⁶⁷ Kerkkonen 1963: 65–72; Anthoni 1970: 363, 369–375; Salminen 2013: 284–308.

¹⁶⁸ Ramsay 1924 54–58; Orrman 1987a: 284–285.

¹⁶⁹ Anthoni 1970: 117, 146, 263–264.

¹⁷⁰ Koskinen & Haggrén 2020: 87–98.

¹⁷¹ Anthoni 1970: 262–269; Haggrén 2011a: 161; Salminen 2013: 282–283.

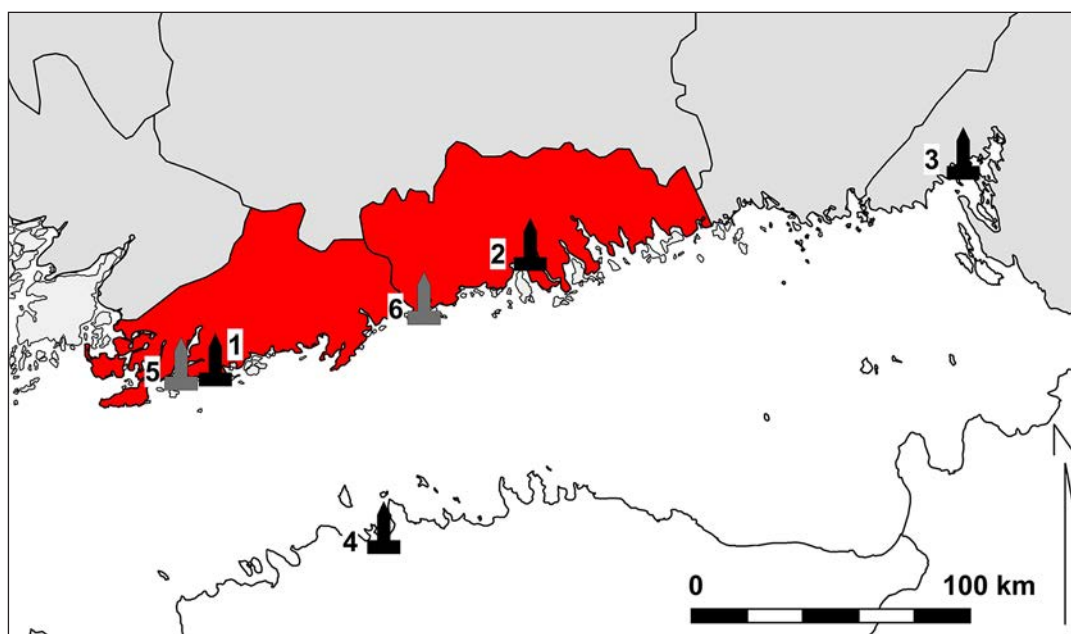


Fig. 2.2 The most important medieval centres for the inhabitants of Uusimaa, 1. Castle of Raasepori, 2. Porvoo 3. Tallinn 4. Town and castle of Viborg, and early modern towns 5. Ekenäs (Tammisaari) and 6. Helsinki. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

until the second half of the 14th century, when it was separated into a chapel that was a dependent of Kirkkonummi. Only during the second half of the 15th century was an independent parish church founded in Espoo.¹⁷² Despite new churches being founded, the parishes could cover wide areas even in the most densely settled areas.

Only six towns were founded in Finland during the Middle Ages.¹⁷³ Compared to the 90 towns in Denmark, 40 towns in Sweden, or 20 towns in Livonia, for example, this was a very modest number. Finnish towns were quite small, with only a few hundred inhabitants in the smallest ones, and approximately 2,000 inhabitants in Turku. Although these sizes were not exceptionally small in medieval Europe, both the number and size of the towns describe well the low degree of urbanism in medieval Finland.¹⁷⁴ This is especially clear in Uusimaa, where only one small town, Porvoo, was founded during the Middle Ages (Fig. 2.2).¹⁷⁵ There may have been a small town located close to the castle of Raasepori in western Uusimaa, but it likely had mainly local significance.¹⁷⁶ Besides the castle of Raasepori, which was the Crown's castle and a central place for western Uusimaa, there were some small medieval castles along the coast of Uusimaa, one of them located in Sipoo and another in Helsinge, but these had more administrative and military significance than economic.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Hiekkanen 2007: 428–429; Haggrén 2008: 42–43.

¹⁷³ Åbo/ Turku, Viborg/ Viipuri, Ulfsby/ Ulvila, Borgå/ Porvoo, Raumo/ Rauma, Nådendal/ Naantali.

¹⁷⁴ Kaukiainen 1980: 99–106; Kallioinen 1995: 86–87.

¹⁷⁵ The exact date for the founding of Porvoo is unclear. A 17th-century document states this happened in 1346, but a more likely date is sometimes in the 1370s or 1380s. Salminen 2013: 75–76.

¹⁷⁶ Haggrén et al. 2021.

¹⁷⁷ Suhonen 1998; Suhonen 2002b; Salminen 2013: 64–84.

First during Gustav I's reign, two additional towns were founded in Uusimaa. Ekenäs (close to Raasepori) got its town rights in 1546, and Helsinki in central Uusimaa in 1550. Helsinki was intended as a match for Tallinn, but despite its local importance, the newly founded town did not gain as much international importance as its southern neighbour.¹⁷⁸ Due to the small number of towns in Uusimaa, peasant trade remained important throughout the Middle Ages and even in the early modern period, despite the Crown's attempts to restrict it.¹⁷⁹ Villagers from Uusimaa, especially young women, also moved to Tallinn where they took up service or got married. They had an important role in creating and maintaining networks between Tallinn and Uusimaa.¹⁸⁰

In Uusimaa, the number of freeholders started to decline at the end of the 16th century. The war between Sweden and Russia in 1570–1595 was a great burden to Finnish farmers, as it meant heavier taxation, conscription, and the duty to accommodate soldiers in between the campaigns.¹⁸¹ In addition, the climate became colder in the 16th century, resulting in smaller crops than during the warmer period in the Middle Ages.¹⁸² Resulting from this, many freeholders lost their ability to pay taxes, which meant that ownership of their farms fell into the hands of the Crown. As the Crown often paid the salaries of military officials and civil servants by enfeoffing taxes to them from a number of farms for a certain period, freeholders' farms could easily fall into the hands of the nobility. Resulting from this, the share of farms belonging to freeholders in Uusimaa had declined to only 81.5% by the end of the 16th century, while 16.9% were under the nobility and 1.6% under the Crown.¹⁸³ During the 17th century, even more farms were enfeoffed to noblemen, and the development continued until the 1680s, when the Great Reduction was carried out and a notable part of the fiefs were returned to the Crown.¹⁸⁴

The difficult times meant a heavy burden for the peasants in Uusimaa, and from the second half of the 16th century onwards, many farms were deserted. In some cases, this meant a temporary incapability to pay taxes, but often the farms were also left unoccupied. There are examples of deserted farms or even villages in Uusimaa already from the 14th century, but the process escalated during the early modern period. In the castle province of Raasepori, a third of the farms were abandoned between 1560 and 1635.¹⁸⁵ In Uusimaa, the desertion of farms (for a number of reasons) and the increasing presence of the nobility are both clearly visible in the written records from the late 16th century onwards.

¹⁷⁸ Kerkkonen 1959: 24–30; Lilius 2014: 105–108; Niukkanen et al. 2014: 40–42. In cases where the term 'Old Helsinki' is used in this work, it refers to *Gamla Helsingfors*, founded in 1550 and moved to the current location of central Helsinki in 1640. Due to the short occupation period, the archaeological finds from Old Helsinki offer a good example of early modern material culture in southern Finland.

¹⁷⁹ Kerkkonen 1959.

¹⁸⁰ Kuisma 1990: 336–345; Huldén 1998; Salminen 2012; 2018: 358–370.

¹⁸¹ Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003a: 192–193, 200–206; Haggrén 2011a: 165.

¹⁸² Holopainen & Helama 2009.

¹⁸³ Orrman 1984: 81–85; Haggrén et al. 2003; Haggrén 2011a: 164–165.

¹⁸⁴ Jokipii 1987: 236–241; Orrman 1987a; Kuisma 1990: 203–208.

¹⁸⁵ Mäkelä 1979; Haggrén et al. 2003; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003a: 192–195; Haggrén 2011a: 164–165.

3 SOCIAL AND MATERIAL ASPECTS TO LIFE IN THE VILLAGES – THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study focuses on the social and material worlds of the medieval and early modern villages, meaning that the questions treating different aspects of the social and the material are pivotal. According to dictionary definitions, ‘social’ is an adjective which refers to such things as *‘relating to society, living together in an organized way’*¹⁸⁶ and *‘the interaction of the individual and the group’*.¹⁸⁷ In this work, it is understood as referring to both the society and the interaction between different actors forming the social world. The study of the social is a central theme within social archaeology,¹⁸⁸ and this study also falls under this field. In this work, medieval and early modern villages are studied as a specific social environment, and the people living in them are seen as active actors who could shape their lives through the choices they made. The intentional actions of an individual are typically referred to as agency in archaeology, and the individual responsible for these actions as an agent.¹⁸⁹ Although the actions of past people can rarely be studied on the level of named individuals, it is still possible to study their agency through the material remains that were produced by their actions.¹⁹⁰

Besides individuals, the farms – or, more accurately, the households inhabiting them – are also discussed as actors in this work. Typically, the most important choices made on farms are attributed to the peasant, who was seen as the head of the household, and other types of activities are attributed to women or children, for example, based on different presumptions of typical roles.¹⁹¹ However, based on the archaeological material it is impossible to say who was actually responsible for many of the decisions made on the farms, and therefore in many cases it is best to see the farm as an actor, especially when studying its interaction with other parties and not the relationships within the household.

During the past decades, archaeologists have actively discussed the relationship and interaction between the material and the social. Human agency, and more recently also the agency of other things, has been much studied in archaeology, and is closely connected to the ideas of how societies function. In this work, the material and the social are seen closely intertwined and in constant interaction. Therefore, it is possible to study the social world based on material remains. In this chapter, special attention is directed to the ways in which the built environment affected the social world, how the objects used in everyday life shaped and were shaped by the social world, and how the material world played a central role in constructing, maintaining, and communicating different identities.

¹⁸⁶ Cambridge Dictionary Online, visited 6.3.2020.

¹⁸⁷ Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online, visited 6.3.2020.

¹⁸⁸ See, e.g., Meskell & Preucel 2007.

¹⁸⁹ See, e.g., Hodder & Hutson 2003: 101–105.

¹⁹⁰ See, e.g., Johnson 2014: 15–17.

¹⁹¹ See Rosendahl 2008b: 99–104; Svensson 2008: 27–32.

3.1 MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SOCIETY

Archaeologists' ideas of the ways in which societies work and what kind of role humans have in this have been much affected by the work of social scientists, especially by Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. In his work on structuration, Giddens has concentrated on the social interaction between individual actors and structures, which according to him is regulated by different practices.¹⁹² Pierre Bourdieu also focuses on social practices in his work. He sees the learned cultural structures, the *habitus*, as something that guides people's actions in different social situations.¹⁹³ Although sometimes criticised,¹⁹⁴ both Giddens' and Bourdieu's work has had a profound impact on archaeological theories of the social, and especially on the discussion of human agency. Based on Giddens' and Bourdieu's theories, it has become common to see human agency not only as the individual's ability to affect things but as something relational and social, where besides the actors, social structures play a key role.¹⁹⁵

Several researchers have underlined the importance of the specific historical context for the human agency.¹⁹⁶ The focus of this study is medieval and early modern Swedish society, which sets the context for social life, material culture, and the actions of the people and things. As discussed in Chapter Two, medieval society is often seen as rigidly divided into three or four estates – the nobility, the clergy, and the peasantry, with burghers sometimes being added to the list. This view highlights the idea of a hierarchical society that leaves little room for the actions of the lower classes, which in this case means the peasants. However, in later research, the idea of rigid social order with clearly defined borders between the different social groups has often been questioned as more of an idealised picture than the medieval social reality.¹⁹⁷

It is true that in the medieval and early modern periods, people were granted different rights and different rules were imposed on them based on their social status, and this also happened in Sweden. Still, even though the medieval society in Sweden was based on groups with different privileges, the boundaries between these groups were not rigid or always clear. Although the estates can be seen as a framework for the social world in medieval and early modern Sweden, overemphasising their meaning leads to an overly simplistic view of people's actions and roles, as well as the social variety. The estates were not uniform groups, but consisted of people with different connections, ambitions, and wealth. In medieval Sweden, the peasants were relatively free, and they had an active role with many rights and possibilities.¹⁹⁸ Peasants and other villagers were not simply subjects for the elites' actions but active participants in the different aspects of everyday life, which they could shape together with the other actors. Therefore, compared to other areas of Europe, where the discussion about the social life in the villages is often focused on the feudalistic relations between peasants and the elite landowners,¹⁹⁹ in Sweden and Finland the discus-

¹⁹² Giddens 1979; 1984.

¹⁹³ Bourdieu 1977; 1986.

¹⁹⁴ E.g. Barrett 2012.

¹⁹⁵ Robb 2010: 496–499.

¹⁹⁶ E.g. Shanks & Tilley 1987: 59; Robb 2010: 499.

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter Two in this work.

¹⁹⁸ Huldén 1998; Rosendahl 2007b; Svensson 2008: 27–32.

¹⁹⁹ E.g. Saunders 1990; Smith 2009; DeWindt 2015; Platt 2016.

sion has more often been centred around the relationships within the villages or the rural peasant community.²⁰⁰

It is important to remember that the estates were just one group people belonged to, and the social life was based on a number of other relations as well. People were part of different communities, based on family and relatives, geographic areas, language, and ethnicity, for example. These played an extremely important role for the individual.²⁰¹ For the rural inhabitants, the most important everyday community was the village where they lived, as the village formed the basis for their social relations and everyday life.²⁰² The villagers formed a varied group consisting of peasants, their family members, paid workers, landless people, and temporary inhabitants, many of whom are difficult to fit into the rigid idea of estates. Paul Johnson has noted how these people may not always have accepted the ideas imposed on them from above, but instead they also participated in renegotiating and modifying the world in which they lived. Therefore, agency was not reserved only for ruling elites or the head of a peasant household but all those who lived in the villages.²⁰³

3.2 VILLAGES AS SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS

For the rural inhabitants, the villages were the place for everyday life and the environment for social encounters. Although it is unclear if the first medieval settlements in Uusimaa were villages or individual farmsteads, by the 16th century the settlement in the area was based on villages. As discussed in Chapter One, villages can be defined as social, spatial, and administrative units. The two first definitions are most interesting when the social and material dimensions of the villages are considered. The village area was the physical place where most of the social life of the rural inhabitants took place. There were common areas in the villages, used jointly by the inhabitants, but also more private places like the farmsteads with their dwelling houses, typically inhabited by a household.²⁰⁴

The close relationship between the functional and social dimensions of the use of space and the ways of building has been long discussed in archaeology.²⁰⁵ It has been debated if the ways people use space influences architecture, or if architecture influences the ways in which people use space.²⁰⁶ Currently, instead of drawing a firm line between these two approaches, many researchers underline the reciprocity between physical space and human actions: spatial structures structure and mediate but are at the same time also produced by human actions.²⁰⁷ Hence, the built environment is never static but in constant interaction with the people inhabiting it. In order to understand this interaction, it is central to study the buildings in the historical and social contexts in which they were built and used.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁰ E.g. Suvanto 1987; 1995; Bentz 2002; Andersson & Svensson 2002; Lagerstedt 2004; Svensson 2008.

²⁰¹ Salminen 2018.

²⁰² E.g. Schmidt Sabo 2001: 90–91.

²⁰³ Johnson 2014: 16–17.

²⁰⁴ Rosendahl 2008b.

²⁰⁵ E.g. Hillier & Hanson 1984; Kent 1990; Samson 1990; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; Grahame 2000; Schmidt Sabo 2001; 2004; Fisher 2009.

²⁰⁶ See, e.g., Kent 1990; Ingold 2011: 173–188.

²⁰⁷ Saunders 1990: 183; Ingold 2011: Johnson 2014: 2; Kühtreiber 2014: 47–48; Schmid 2014: 57.

²⁰⁸ Giles 2014: 14–15.

Buildings were an important part of everyday life in the villages. As Paul Johnson has put it, *houses are about human beings*. Therefore, by studying buildings, it is also possible to study the people who built, owned, and used them,²⁰⁹ in this case the medieval villagers of Uusimaa. In Sweden, especially Katlin Schmidt Sabo and Eva Svensson have studied the social aspects of space and architecture in a medieval and early modern rural context. Katlin Schmidt Sabo has thoroughly discussed the social dimensions of medieval villages in her work.²¹⁰ She sees the farmsteads as physical built structures that were formed as a result of social structures. Villages were a way to organise the different members of rural society into a physical space and regulate their everyday life. Farms and villages were the places where most of the activities in rural areas took place, and therefore their structure – both physical and social – affected the ways in which production, economy, space, and social relations were organised. At the same time, all these factors influenced the ways in which the farmsteads were built and the space in the villages was arranged.²¹¹

In her work focusing on medieval settlement in Sweden, Svensson has used the concept *social space* to highlight the interaction between people and space and the ways in which space can be a social creation, but it can also act as a social medium and be socially active.²¹² Svensson has studied rural settlements belonging to different social groups and found that the built environment and use of space differed between rural sites with different levels of social status, thus showing how social status could be communicated and maintained through the use of space in medieval Sweden.²¹³

The built environment could communicate the different ideas the peasants had about themselves and their place in the social world. As in medieval and early modern Finland, the farmstead was normally built and maintained by the peasant occupying it, and the buildings reflected the ideas the peasant had about the right ways of building. Medieval Swedish legislation regulated building practices, and therefore the buildings can also communicate the relationship between the peasants and the administration.²¹⁴ Buildings can also be used to communicate social status and power.²¹⁵ Lena Beronius Jörpeland has noted how the location of a farmstead can be connected to the social status of its inhabitants in medieval Central Sweden, although the exact way in which this connection is manifested depends on the case in question.²¹⁶ Thus, the different features the buildings had were not only practical solutions, but they could carry different meanings as well.²¹⁷

The role of villages as places where the relationship between peasants and the aristocracy were constantly negotiated and played out through the use of space and architecture has been underlined in many European studies.²¹⁸ In Finnish research concerning the medieval and early modern countryside, the independent role of the peasants has often been highlighted and studies have typically focused on the internal relations and structures of

²⁰⁹ Johnson 2014: 2–3.

²¹⁰ Schmidt Sabo 2001; 2004.

²¹¹ Schmidt Sabo 2004: 79, 83–90.

²¹² Svensson 2008: 8.

²¹³ Svensson 2008.

²¹⁴ Lagerstedt 2004: 86–87.

²¹⁵ Svensson 2008; Kühtreiber 2014.

²¹⁶ Beronius Jörpeland 2011b: 175–180.

²¹⁷ Jervis 2014: 142–144.

²¹⁸ E.g. Saunders 1990; Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019.

peasant communities, and in some cases on the strained relationship between peasants and the authorities.²¹⁹ The varied roles a peasant could have, as well as the other villagers, have often received less attention especially prior to the second half of the 16th century because of the small number of written sources. Still, the different people and the varied roles they had were important for the social life in the villages. People were involved in trade, worked with crafts, or were part of the local administration, for example. A rich and well-connected peasant-tradesman had a different position in the community than a peasant who occupied a small farm.²²⁰ Things like age, gender, ethnic background, or one's relationship to the land-owning peasants also affected the roles people had. Many of these roles could change throughout time, and a single person could have several different roles at the same time.²²¹

The different social roles resulted in a variety of different social encounters within the farms and villages, and the social life of the rural inhabitants was not restricted only to their home village. Roads leading past the villages were used by different kind of travellers, and the farms had to offer food and shelter for different kinds of passers-by. The villagers also moved around themselves, some in the home parish but some for even longer distances on a regular basis. Tallinn was frequently visited by peasants from Uusimaa, and some villagers even moved there to work.²²² The different encounters likely affected the ways in which the inhabitants of the villages in Uusimaa saw themselves and their place in the world. This also had a deep impact on the material culture, as the contacts people had affected the items they could obtain from the local craftspersons or all the way from Tallinn. However, the role of material culture in social life was not limited to simply people purchasing things they needed but was more varied and complex. Networks formed by both people and things had a central role for the medieval rural society.

3.3 MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE SOCIAL WORLD

The role of things has been much discussed in archaeology, and Michael Schiffer noted already in the 1990s how '*human life consists of ceaseless and varied interactions among people and myriad kinds of things*'.²²³ Bjørnar Olsen has called for a more egalitarian way of perceiving society and culture, one that sees the different entities that are part of the material culture as beings in the world alongside humans, plants, and animals.²²⁴ This new emphasis on things has also been noted when agency is discussed, and currently it is common to see agency as something not simply inherent to humans but as a network of relations where material culture and collective entities can participate.²²⁵

When society is seen as based on associations and networks between different human and non-human actors, material culture attains an important and active role in the social world. Material culture becomes more than something people simply create and use; it be-

²¹⁹ Jutikkala 1946; 1958; Suvanto 1987; 1995; Katajala 1994; 2002; Haikari 2009; Koskinen 2016a; 2016b; Miettinen 2016.

²²⁰ Suvanto 1997; Koskinen 2016a.

²²¹ Schmidt Sabo 2004; Salminen 2018.

²²² Salminen 2013: 358–370.

²²³ Schiffer 1999: 2.

²²⁴ Olsen 2010: 14.

²²⁵ Robb 2010: 501–505.

comes something that people interact with in different ways.²²⁶ Recently, objects have also been granted an agency of their own. This does not mean that they have similar intentions as human agents, but instead their agency is based on their ability to act on and with humans.²²⁷

Currently, a common approach to this kind of agency is the *actor-network-theory* (ANT), which is based on the work of social scientists Michael Callon, John Law, and Bruno Latour.²²⁸ According to actor-network theorists, the social should not be seen as something preordained that exists as a separate structure, but instead as something based on the associations between different participants of the social world. These participants do not have to be human, as things can have agency as well.²²⁹ This kind of approach has gained popularity in archaeology, including when historical periods are studied,²³⁰ and it is also well suited when medieval and early modern rural communities are discussed. However, even though this kind of approach underlines the role of different actors in creating the society instead of the existence of structures external to them, there were still different institutions in the medieval society. The Church, the secular administration, and privileges granted to certain groups did exist, not as a separate structure but as something created and maintained by the different participants of the social world.²³¹ Still, actions did not happen separate from these structures.

When medieval and early modern rural areas are studied, it is often difficult to find individuals and their actions, although things are clearly happening constantly. When social life is seen as a network where different kind of actors, both human and non-human, individual and collective, can participate, it is possible to better take into account the varied and active nature of the life in the medieval and early modern villages. People interacted with each other, with the built environment, and with different kinds of objects; therefore, the social and material worlds of the medieval and early modern villages were closely entwined. Material culture had a central place in communicating, enforcing, and shaping the social roles of humans. As discussed above, the built environment constructed, shaped, and maintained many aspects of village life, from the way in which production was arranged to the everyday social encounters. Different objects also played an important part in everyday life.

The variety of roles the objects could have had is illustrated well by the different aspects of pottery. Pottery was something used regularly in everyday life for cooking, eating, and storing food and drink. At the same time, pottery took part in different social situations. The table was a place for social interactions, and pottery had a role in the complex web of table manners, which guided the social situation of eating and drinking.²³² Pottery was part of the social life, and people engaged with it in a variety of ways, and the practices of production and use of pottery could play a notable role in establishing and maintaining different identities and social practices.²³³

The distribution of different types of pottery can tell about contact networks, which besides spreading objects could also transmit the cultural ideas connected to them. David

²²⁶ E.g. Schiffer 1999; Olsen 2010.

²²⁷ Jervis 2011: 242.

²²⁸ E.g. Callon 1999; Latour 1999; 2005; Law 1999.

²²⁹ Latour 2005.

²³⁰ E.g. Jervis 2011; Stockhammer 2015; Bolender & Johnson 2018.

²³¹ See Latour 2005.

²³² Brown 2005: 95–96; Dant 2005: 137–138.

²³³ Blinkhorn 1997; Jervis 2014.

Gaimster has studied the spread of different cultural codes and practices connected to the Hanse, and suggested that pottery, especially German stoneware, played an important role in this.²³⁴ More recently, it has been questioned if a clearly defined Hanse culture or a cultural package related to it really existed. Instead of seeing stoneware as a material expression of a complete cultural package, pottery has been instead discussed as a medium for cultural exchange in light of post-colonial theory. In this way, the local inhabitants are not seen as passive recipients of a new culture, but as active participants incorporating new elements into their existing material and social life.²³⁵

The discussion about the different meanings of German stoneware in different places shows how the meanings pottery had were highly contextual. Depending on the context, a certain kind of pottery may have been an everyday material with little value beyond its function, while in other cases the same type of pottery was used as a means of social distinction.²³⁶ Magdalena Naum has noted a similar relativity when studying the use of Baltic ware ceramics on the Danish island of Bornholm. Baltic ware was introduced on the island during the Viking Age and manufactured by Slavic immigrants. Naum has suggested that for these people, the vessels and the whole process of making them may have represented the comfort and familiarity of their old homelands, while for the locals they were practical, although possibly fashionable everyday objects.²³⁷

Pottery not only had a practical role, but it could also convey different symbolic meanings. For example, decorated plates and bowls could be given as gifts expressing good wishes.²³⁸ Pottery could even act as a sexual metaphor, like in the case of redware pipkins. It has been suggested that the bodies of the vessels may have represented female fertility, especially the womb, while the handles resembled the male sex organ.²³⁹ There are also other examples of medieval objects being metaphors for sexuality.²⁴⁰

Although pottery is a great example of the various dimensions that artefacts could have, other types of objects had varied roles in medieval Northern Europe as well. When studying medieval Tallinn, Magdalena Naum has noted how material culture was actively used in negotiating identities and constructing people as social beings. Objects could shape their users and be shaped by them, and also offer the means to communicate both the affiliations and ambitions of a person.²⁴¹ Although Naum's analysis treats urban communities, the same aspects of material culture were present in rural areas as well. Eva Svensson has shown that in 13th-century Sweden, the peasants used clothing and accessories to express their place in the local community but also to compete with the emerging elites.²⁴² These examples illustrate how, besides telling about the material standards of living, buildings and objects can shed further light on the social aspects of life as well.

²³⁴ E.g. Gaimster 1999; 2005.

²³⁵ Immonen 2007.

²³⁶ Brown 2005: 96–97.

²³⁷ Naum 2012.

²³⁸ Demuth 2015: 353.

²³⁹ Bergold et al. 2004.

²⁴⁰ Immonen 2014.

²⁴¹ Naum 2014.

²⁴² Svensson 2008: 269–270, 358–359.

3.4 SOCIAL GROUPS AND IDENTITIES

When the inhabitants of medieval and early modern villages are studied, it is not only central to discuss who we think the different people living in the villages were, but also who the people themselves thought they were and identified with, both as groups and as individuals. The possibility to study past identities has been much debated in archaeology, especially in connection to the discussion on agency and individuals.²⁴³ As Shanks and Tilley have noted, archaeologists have traditionally been more interested in studying larger social groups than individuals. They admit that it is difficult to define what individuality meant in past societies. Individual subjects have likely been recognised in all societies on the level of naming and differentiating between physical bodies, but other than this, a transcultural or transhistorical subject has never existed.²⁴⁴ Sociologists have traced the idea of modern individualism to the early modern period, from the 16th to the 18th centuries; therefore, during the medieval period, individuals and their identities were understood in a different way.²⁴⁵ Still, it is possible to study medieval identities on several levels.

As a concept, identity refers to knowing who others and we ourselves are, and what our and others' places are in society.²⁴⁶ There are two levels of identity: the personal level of a single individual and the social level where identity is defined in connection to others. On a personal level, the identity defines who we are as individuals, and on a social level it defines our place in relation to others. Identity is situated in both time and place, and it is defined by the individual and the other members of society, depending on the situation. Whereas social identity is dependent on ideas shared by the different members of the society and because of this often slow to change, personal identity is more contingent and flexible.²⁴⁷

Instead of focusing on a single aspect of identity, it has become typical for archaeologists to study identity as a broader complex, studying multiple elements of identity at once and seeing the relationship between the self and society as part of the question.²⁴⁸ It has been recognised that identities are under constant negotiation and open to manipulation, which makes identities fluid and mutable. Different things such as gender, age, status, class and ethnicity all play a part in constructing a person's identity.²⁴⁹ Because of this plurality, identities are constantly under negotiation and never final, which means that identities can be seen as a process of being or becoming.²⁵⁰

Identities are based on both similarity and difference. As a person defines who they are themselves, they also need to define those who are similar to them, what is 'us'. At the same time, a difference needs to be made concerning who is 'them' and how they differ from 'us'.²⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu has suggested that social identity can be defined and asserted through the process of *distinction*. A group that shares a certain *habitus*, a common code of life, tends to also share common material culture and social practices, which distinguishes them from

²⁴³ E.g. Casella & Fowler 2004; White 2009a; Robb 2011.

²⁴⁴ Shanks & Tilley 1987: 57, 61–62.

²⁴⁵ Hall 2002: 28–32.

²⁴⁶ Jenkins 2008: 5.

²⁴⁷ Meskell 2007: 24; White 2009a.

²⁴⁸ Casella & Fowler 2004; White 2009a; Kuokkanen 2016.

²⁴⁹ Meskell 2007.

²⁵⁰ Jenkins 2008: 17.

²⁵¹ Jenkins 2008: 21–23.

other groups.²⁵² For archaeology, this means that it is possible to recognise different social identities through their shared material culture. Identities have been communicated and reinforced via material culture, written and spoken languages, and use of iconography, all of which have left traces in archaeological or historical sources.²⁵³

In medieval Finland, identities have been based on several different things. Tapio Salminen has noted how medieval identities were constantly redefined in the interaction between people: identities could be shifting and simultaneous, short term, or more permanent in nature. Salminen has underlined how despite efforts by the administration to define identities based on ethnicity, language, or place of origin, for example, it was common that the identities were manifested through responses to different situations rather than based on some predefined groups.²⁵⁴

The discussion about medieval and early modern identities is central to this work because the aim is to study the different people living in the medieval villages. The early modern administration defined most of the villagers mentioned in the tax books as peasants, but based on the material culture and other types of written sources, the people living in the villages were not a uniform group: they purchased different objects, which were built in different ways, and had a variety of different livelihoods. Eva Svensson has noted how despite the peasants being involved in different kinds of livelihoods, they still gained their identity from the land they farmed and the farm they lived on.²⁵⁵ Still, as many of the medieval and early modern villagers in Southern Finland were not just peasants but many other things as well, it is important to discuss whether these people still first identified themselves with the local peasant community or if they had a variety of different identities, some possibly extending outside the villages. Was being a peasant and owning land the thing that connected people the most, or was their identity based on a variety of different things?

²⁵² Bourdieu 1986: 171–172.

²⁵³ E.g. Lerbom 2004; Müller 2004; Staecker 2004; Roslund 2007; White 2009b; Naum 2012; 2014; Hansen et al. 2015: 2–4; Callmer et al. 2016.

²⁵⁴ Salminen 2018: 18–21.

²⁵⁵ Svensson 2008: 30–32.

4 HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY – A METHODOLOGICAL VIEW ON COMBINING THE DIFFERENT FIELDS AND MATERIALS

This work falls into the scope of medieval and postmedieval archaeology – or, more generally, *historical archaeology*. According to the Swedish archaeologist Anders Andrén, the term ‘historical archaeology’ can refer to both archaeology studying just the postmedieval period from circa 1500 onwards or archaeology studying all the periods which have produced texts.²⁵⁶ In practice, the use of the term varies, depending if the focus has been on the shared methodologies and source materials, researched phenomena, or on strictly defined time periods. In the US, historical archaeology typically refers to the study of the post-medieval period and the research often focuses on phenomena like colonialism and modernisation.²⁵⁷ However, in Finland and Sweden, the term ‘historical archaeology’ (Fi. *historiallisen ajan arkeologia*, Sw. *historisk arkeologi*) is often used to refer to the study of both the medieval and postmedieval periods, as much of the methodology and source materials – or the lack of sources – are common to both periods here.²⁵⁸ A more precise division into medieval and postmedieval archaeology with different subfields is sometimes also used in Finland and Sweden, especially by researchers focusing on postmedieval period or following the American tradition of historical archaeology,²⁵⁹ but in this work, historical archaeology is used as a common term for archaeology studying both the medieval and postmedieval periods.

As historical archaeology deals with periods when written documents were produced, it commonly uses both types of source materials. Although the two groups of sources are often used together, the work is rarely straightforward. Instead, a number of questions concerning both sets of sources individually, as well as the challenges in combining them, are often raised. In this chapter, the relationship between the two sets of material is discussed in a critical light. The relationship between the two groups of sources is often problematic, and in this work, approaching the material along the lines of microarchaeology or microhistory and source pluralism, and highlighting the importance of contexts, are discussed as possible ways to answer this challenge.

4.1 THE CHALLENGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Even though archaeology and history as fields of study share a common goal, to study the human past, they approach it on the basis of different sources and often focus on different questions. The relationship between archaeology and history has often been seen as complex after the two became clearly separate fields of study during the 19th and 20th centuries. After this, archaeologists focused mainly on material remains of the past, while historical sources were left for historians. Of the two, the role of history became stronger when periods

²⁵⁶ Andrén 1997: 16–17.

²⁵⁷ See, e.g., Hall & Sillman 2006; Nurmi 2011: 26–29.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Mogren et al. 2009; META redaktion 2015; Haggrén 2019.

²⁵⁹ Taavitsainen 1999: 8–10; Lavento 2009: 23–24, 28–29; Nurmi 2011: 26–29.

with written sources were studied, and archaeology was often left in the role of an ancillary science when interpretations were made. Although the situation has changed during past decades, and new modes of co-operation between the two fields have been found, there are still some tensions. Some of these are related to the different views on the relationship between the archaeological and historical sources.²⁶⁰

The different views on the relationship between the archaeological and historical sources have resulted in a lively discussion about how they should be used together. This is a central question for historical archaeology, as it studies archaeologically the periods when texts were produced. The availability of textual sources has not always been seen as a simply positive feature within historical archaeology, as it has been feared to lead into tautologies if the materials are allowed to affect each other. In addition, archaeology has often been left in a secondary role, compared to historical sources, when both have been available. Previously, material culture was commonly used to illustrate the past or to fill in gaps in the texts, but otherwise archaeological data was often seen as less important for studying the past.²⁶¹

Another central question for historical archaeology has been the fundamental character of texts and material culture. It has been discussed if texts and artefacts are two clearly distinguishable categories, if they share a common ground, or if they can be understood as identical sources. Some researchers have underlined the similarity between the two. Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson claim that it is possible to read material culture, even though it is not comparable to written languages or texts as such. Instead, they see it as a simple language consisting of material signs which communicate meaning. For them, the idea of material culture as a text is more of a metaphor than an analogy.²⁶² The idea of it being possible to read material culture has also been criticised, because modern researchers do not share a common language with the fragmented material. Bjørnar Olsen has noted how things gain different meanings throughout their lives, and their biographies affect the ways in which they are interpreted by modern researchers. According to him, material culture is *'more radically plural, carnivalesque, and out of authorial control than any written text'*.²⁶³

Instead of approaching material culture as text, some archaeologists have suggested different ways of examining texts as material culture. In his work, Matthew Johnson has suggested that archaeologists can find new, interesting ways to approach historical documents. He proposes that archaeologists should study the structure of the documents, and in doing so treat them as artefacts. In this way, they could also find their own way to approach the historical sources, with which many archaeologists have a problematic relationship.²⁶⁴

Anders Andrén has profoundly discussed the relationship between material culture and texts in his work. His aim has been to identify the similarities and differences between texts and artefacts and focus on the different ways in which the sources have been approached by historians and archaeologists. Instead of defining the relationship between texts and artefacts as something static, Andrén has underlined how it varies according to one's perspective and the research tradition in question. As a category, the two are quite different, text being a

²⁶⁰ Andrén 1997: 13–14, 112–140; Haggrén 2015b; 2019; Seppänen 2015.

²⁶¹ Cinthio 1984: 55; Andrén 1997: 13–14, 112–140.

²⁶² Hodder & Hutson 2003: 167–169.

²⁶³ Olsen 2010: 46.

²⁶⁴ Johnson 1996: 97–118.

restricted category based on language, whereas material culture includes a variety of things. On the other hand, when they are considered as artefacts, they are very similar, as texts are also part of the material culture. If both are examined as documents or cultural expressions, they tend to focus on different aspects. As discursive contexts, their relationship depends on the specific cultural context in which they were produced. Andrén notes how all approaches can offer a basis for further interpretations.²⁶⁵

Because of the multifaceted nature of both texts and material culture, Andrén suggests that the most interesting perspectives in historical archaeology can be found at the meeting point of the two types of source materials. He calls this meeting point a historical-archaeological (Sw. *historisk-arkeologisk*) context, which has been created by the source materials together. When interpretations are done with this meeting as a starting point, it is possible to treat both materials as equals and not give the text a dominant position. The interpretative process is based on finding correspondence, associations, and contrasts between the two materials. Despite the danger of tautologies, the source materials can and should not be analysed separately, but instead a dialogue should be created between them, taking the different types and levels of contexts into account.²⁶⁶

Some researchers have focused on more fundamental questions about the relationship between history and archaeology as fields of study. Gavin Lucas has approached this question from a temporal perspective. He has noted how chronologies are determined based on similar principles in both prehistorical and historical archaeology, but on a practical level the chronology in historical archaeology is typically more precise and based on specifically dated artefact types rather than on radiocarbon dates.²⁶⁷ This brings historical archaeology closer to history's temporal resolution, but still the dating of the archaeological material remains more imprecise. As Georg Haggrén has pointed out, this creates a basic difference between the two sets of data, as historical data is closely connected to time, while archaeological data is spatial in its nature.²⁶⁸

In this work, archaeological and historical sources are approached as different but equally important sources for the past, which together form a unique possibility for research. The aim is to give the different materials equal value as sources but at the same time acknowledge their different strengths and weaknesses, as well as their focus on different aspects of the past. This approach follows the lines of Christina Rosén's work, which has focused on the material culture and social status in Halland.²⁶⁹ When the different sources are used together, they can give a wider and more varied picture of the past. By using the sources as clues and analysing them in detail, a more holistic understanding of the medieval and early modern rural worlds is strived for in this work. This kind of approach is typical of microhistorical research.

²⁶⁵ Andrén 1997: 151–158.

²⁶⁶ Andrén 1997: 7, 158–182.

²⁶⁷ Lucas 2006: 35–37.

²⁶⁸ Haggrén 2015b: 90–91.

²⁶⁹ Rosén 2004.

4.2 MICROARCHAEOLOGY AND SOURCE PLURALISM – WAYS TO APPROACH THE SOURCE MATERIAL

It has been noted how historical archaeology is well suited for studying things on a micro-scale because of the varied source material and close chronological resolution.²⁷⁰ Still, there are differences between the microscale that can be reached through archaeological material and through written documents. Georg Haggrén has pointed out how historians can often reach individuals in their material, while archaeologists usually work with quite anonymous data. Nonetheless, even though it is difficult to reach named individuals in archaeological material, historical archaeology often offers a possibility to study closely defined small groups of people, like a household or a given village community. In the best cases, it is possible to combine written documents and the archaeological data into a microscale study of an individual, a household, or a small community.²⁷¹

Microarchaeology as a term has two meanings: one refers to scientific archaeology done with the help of a microscope while the other is a term closely related to microhistory, where the *micro* comes from the reduced and detailed scale of perspective and observation, or the closely defined object of study.²⁷² In this work, microarchaeology is understood as the latter: an approach where a limited set of material is studied in detail to gain a deeper understanding of the case study and at the same time discuss related social questions on a larger scale. Along the lines of microarchaeology, or microhistory, this study is more focused on people and their actions as constructing parts of social world than on society as a large, impersonal system.

The idea of microhistory has its roots spanning from the 1950s to the early 1970s, when individual researchers sought to bring their focus to a detailed analysis of their subjects.²⁷³ Microhistory developed into a distinctive field of study first in Italy, where a program for microhistory was proclaimed by Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni in 1979. In their proclamation, they called for a close-range analysis of clearly defined small-scale case studies, focusing on small communities or even individuals.²⁷⁴

Compared to microhistory, microarchaeology has a shorter history as a specified field of study. Microarchaeology has become an explicitly defined term through the work of Swedish archaeologists Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander, who have discussed both the theory and practice of microarchaeology during the past two decades. According to them, microarchaeology is both a theoretical framework and a method to approach sociohistorical phenomena, including material culture,²⁷⁵ and it is also understood this way in this work. Cornell and Fahlander define microarchaeology as an approach with the aim to identify structuring practices or chains of action between the particular and general. Microarchaeology is focused on identifying patterns within these by studying the archaeological assemblages closely.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ E.g. Lucas 2006; Wilkie 2006; Haggrén 2015b.

²⁷¹ Haggrén 2015b: 84–85, 90–91.

²⁷² Peltonen 2001; Cornell & Fahlander 2002a; Weiner 2010; Mímisson & Magnússon 2014.

²⁷³ See Grendi 1977; Ginzburg 1980; 1993; Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 27–29.

²⁷⁴ Ginzburg & Poni 1991.

²⁷⁵ Fahlander 2003: 15.

²⁷⁶ Cornell & Fahlander 2002a: 14–15; 2002b: 22–32.

Cornell and Fahlander suggest microarchaeology as a solution for the problem arising from a priori definitions of cultures and regional networks, which they see as a hindrance for understanding the complexity and dynamics of social practice. Research should start with the studied material and identify elements of social practice in it.²⁷⁷ They admit that social formations often exist within spatial contexts because of the nature of archaeological material. However, the spatiality should arise from the material, not from a priori defined borders for a culture or ethnic group.²⁷⁸ This approach allows one to challenge the grand narratives that are typically based on classifications and generalisations of larger research materials and tend to dismiss more exceptional or marginal cases.²⁷⁹

Historical archaeologists typically know the historical context of their subject, which offers a slightly different starting point than the prehistorical situation that Cornell and Fahlander have focused on in their work. Still, historical contexts, timeframes, geographic areas, or social classes do not have to define the expected outcomes even for historical archaeologists. Instead, when the research material is studied in detail, it is possible to discuss the existing definitions in a new light, and in some cases redefine pre-existing concepts. This detail-oriented approach, which is also used in the current work, resembles that of both *microhistory* and *microarchaeology*. Neither of the terms have been widely used within historical archaeology, and archaeologist Mary C. Beadry has even argued that ‘archaeologists cannot “do” microhistory the same way the historians do’ because of the different possibilities that material culture and written sources offer. Still, according to Beadry, archaeologists can adopt the methods of microhistory and use them in a way that is better suited for archaeology, as she has also done herself.²⁸⁰

Within historical archaeology, it has long been common to study a restricted body of material on a detailed level. Already James Deetz based his ground-breaking work *In Small Things Forgotten* precisely on small, unimpressive things and the ways in which they can be interpreted as parts of larger phenomena.²⁸¹ Some archaeologists have called their approaches explicitly microhistorical or microarchaeological,²⁸² but various other terms have also been used. Approaches like household archaeology or biographies focus on restricted, ordinary materials, and they discuss these in their wider social and historical contexts.²⁸³ Another term closely connected with microarchaeology is *singularised archaeology*, which has been influenced by Swedish microarchaeology as well as Islandic microhistory. Singularised archaeology rejects historical grand narratives and instead focuses solely on the research material, on which it bases all its interpretations.²⁸⁴

In Finland, the term ‘microarchaeology’ has been used by some researchers working with historical archaeology.²⁸⁵ Their approach has mainly been adopted from European microhistory rather than Swedish microarchaeology, and historical sources have been central for the microarchaeological research in Finland. In this, it resembles the approach in

²⁷⁷ Cornell & Fahlander 2002b: 29–30.

²⁷⁸ Cornell & Fahlander 2002a: 12–14.

²⁷⁹ Herva et al. 2004.

²⁸⁰ Beadry 2008.

²⁸¹ Deetz 1977.

²⁸² E.g. Cornell & Fahlander 2002a; 2002b; Fahlander 2003; Gramsch 2007; Lightfoot 2008.

²⁸³ Wilk & Rathje 1982; King 2006; Lucas 2006.

²⁸⁴ Mímisson & Magnússon 2014: 139.

²⁸⁵ Hagggrén 2011c; Savolainen 2011; Heinonen 2015a; see also Herva et al. 2004.

Islandic microarchaeology or singularised archaeology and Janken Myrdal's source pluralism, which refers to an approach where the researcher combines all possible source material to address their specific research question.²⁸⁶ Instead of focusing solely on the 'best' source, source pluralistic research considers even the sources that contain indirect evidence of the studied phenomenon.²⁸⁷

The source pluralistic approach acknowledges the benefits of varied source material, and in his use of *clues* to approach his research material, Myrdal is close to the microhistorical approach. As Carlo Ginzburg has put it, the researcher can approach the research material along the lines of Sherlock Holmes, carefully analysing the different clues of the past and this way finding the more general phenomena behind the small details.²⁸⁸ Microhistorical research works from the assumption that observing the sources on a microscopic scale may reveal some hidden factors which have previously been left unobserved. Some researchers have suggested that based on these details, only the specific case in question should be examined, but typically the particular case is used to discuss the studied phenomenon also on a wider level. The idea of basing a historical narrative on the relationship between the particular and a wider social context is common for microhistory.²⁸⁹

As microhistory is focused on the personal experiences and ideas of past people, the research has often been based on written documents which shed light on these, such as diaries or court protocols. Unique features are searched for in such texts, and these are then made the subject of study.²⁹⁰ However, even more meagre collections of sources may offer interesting results. The work of researchers like Rebecca Jean Emigh has shown how even fragmentary documentary evidence can be used to write rural microhistories, even though the level of detail is not the same as in microhistory based on richer sources.²⁹¹ In Finland, Seppo Suvanto's work has clearly demonstrated, how Finnish medieval and early modern written sources can tell much about individuals and rural society when studied closely.²⁹² Using his source pluralistic approach, Janken Myrdal has shown that the limited source material can often be increased when more indirect clues of the studied phenomenon are also searched for in sources that do not treat the studied phenomenon directly.²⁹³ This does not differ much from the current microhistorical approach to source material, as the variety of sources used in microhistorical studies has expanded to include materials like oral history or landscapes, especially in cases when only a small number of written sources is available.²⁹⁴

In this work, both written and archaeological sources are used to study the material and social world of medieval and early modern villages. The five villages studied in this work offer a good possibility for detailed analysis. Although microhistorical research is often focused on exceptional individuals, communities, or cases,²⁹⁵ these five villages do not stand out in historical sources in any way, which could be characterised as especially exceptional.

²⁸⁶ Myrdal 2007; 2008; Mímisson & Magnússon 2014.

²⁸⁷ Myrdal 2007.

²⁸⁸ Ginzburg 1992.

²⁸⁹ Ginzburg 1993: 33; Levi 2001: 101, 112–113; Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 112–117, 121–123; Mímisson & Magnússon 2014: 138–139.

²⁹⁰ Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 107.

²⁹¹ Emigh 2008.

²⁹² Suvanto 1987; 1995.

²⁹³ E.g. Myrdal 2008; 2012.

²⁹⁴ Lightfoot 2008; Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 136–137.

²⁹⁵ Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 151–153.

What makes these cases stand out from the medieval or early modern villages in Southern Finland is the special collection of source material: besides the historical documents treating them, they have all been excavated archaeologically, meaning that material culture is also available. Although it is difficult to reach the ideas or actions of named individuals based on this kind of material, it is possible to study the lives and actions of the people on a more general level.²⁹⁶

The aim of this work is to discuss the material both as special cases and in relation to wider contexts. The goal is not so much to create a complete picture of the settlement of medieval and early modern Uusimaa as it is to discuss the varied elements of settlement processes, material culture, and social life, and to identify the larger structures and social practices behind them. The examples used in this work are seen as inductive of wider social practices, even though they do not offer a complete picture of the social situation during the studied period in the studied area. This approach is common for microhistory, which normally tends to accept the sporadic nature of sources and include the gaps in them as part of the research process.²⁹⁷

4.3 CONTEXTS – A RELATIONAL APPROACH FROM THE MICRO LEVEL TO THE MACRO LEVEL

A common denominator for both microhistory and historical archaeology is the central role that different contexts play in the making of interpretations. Only when the context is understood well enough are a detailed analysis of a small number of sources and the interpretation of their wider meanings possible.²⁹⁸ Thus, both archaeological and historical contexts are essential for the interpretations in this work as well. This applies both on a larger social level and on the level of single sources.

In historical archaeology, contexts are central in many ways, not least due to their role in excavation methodology. The stratigraphic or single context method has been widely used in excavations especially since Edward Harris published his book on stratigraphy in 1979.²⁹⁹ The method's application at historical sites has also been lively debated in Finland since the 1990s. Here, its development was strongly influenced by Scandinavian examples and especially the Nordic conferences on stratigraphic method, organised since 1996. Although the method is currently widely used in Finland, the discussion on its applications still continues.³⁰⁰

Contextual archaeology has been discussed on a more general level as an approach by Ian Hodder. He and Scott Hutson have underlined how studying objects without a context is simply antiquarianism, with little possibilities for interpretation.³⁰¹ Hodder and Hutson have discerned different types of contexts, all of which are important to this work: spatial, temporal and the context of the depositional unit. Archaeological material can be studied

²⁹⁶ E.g. Beranek 2009; Heinonen 2015a.

²⁹⁷ Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 106–107.

²⁹⁸ Levi 2001: 110; Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 64–65.

²⁹⁹ Harris 1989 [1979].

³⁰⁰ Price 1996; Asplund 1997; Kykyri 1997; Suhonen & Vuorinen 1997; Wahl 1997; Suhonen 1999; Haggrén et al. 2010b; Heinonen 2015b; Holappa 2016.

³⁰¹ Hodder & Hutson 2003: 171–172.

on all these levels. Hodder and Hutson have also pointed out that we understand contexts according to our own context, meaning that the contemporary context is part of the process of interpreting past contexts.³⁰² This is a good reminder of how contexts are interpreted from the point of view of the modern researcher, therefore not necessarily representing past realities. Still, they are a useful tool for interpretations, despite their shortcomings and interpretive nature.

In this work, different levels of contexts are considered, starting from single archaeological contexts and reaching up to the social context of medieval and early modern Sweden. All these levels are important for interpreting the research material. Similar kind of contextualisation has also previously been used in Finnish archaeology, with some differences in the levels included in different studies.³⁰³ First, there are archaeological contexts, which are typically single land units or construction details representing a single action or phase at the sites. The single context method was adopted in Finnish rural archaeology first in the 1990s, and despite problems with its application on thin layers and fragmentary constructions it has become widely used at rural sites as well.³⁰⁴ All the material in this study comes from excavations where the stratigraphic or single context method was used, although often combined with elements from technical excavations, because the thin layers often require compromises. Therefore, the material is quite comparable within and between the sites. Secondly, there are larger archaeological contexts, such as buildings, dumps, or yard layers, which typically consist of several different land units and construction details.

Thirdly, there are farms and villages. It is often hard to connect individual buildings to different farmsteads at Finnish rural sites, especially in the case of the oldest buildings. In cases where separate farmsteads can be distinguished, they are used as one level of interpretation. Still, even in these cases, the archaeologically documented farmsteads can rarely be connected to the farms known from historical sources. In cases where separate farms cannot be distinguished from the archaeological material, the interpretations are made on the level of the single buildings or villages. Finally, there is the wider social and historical context. As the focus of this study is the social world of medieval and early modern Uusimaa, it is important to understand the wider social context in which it existed. Social formations are always influenced by the geographical and ecological contexts.³⁰⁵

The different levels of contexts are noted when interpreting single finds and larger assemblages, like the material within a building. The historical sources and archaeological material are discussed together within the different levels of contexts, even though it is often hard to connect specific historical data to an archaeological assemblage. The different timescales, which are possible to reach within the different materials, also pose a challenge, as it is typically possible to date historical sources to certain years, but in archaeology the precision reached is typically measured in decades or, in some cases, even centuries. These source critical problems are noted when making interpretations.

³⁰² Hodder & Hutson 2003: 163–166; 177–180.

³⁰³ E.g. Nurmi 2011.

³⁰⁴ Suhonen 2000; Heinonen 2015b; Holappa 2016.

³⁰⁵ Cornell & Fahlander 2002a: 20.

5 HOW TO STUDY THE DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF VILLAGE LIFE – A METHODOLOGICAL VIEW ON THE RESEARCH MATERIAL

This study is based on written documents and archaeological material, which as sources share some common characteristics but also differ in many ways. In the previous chapter, their use was discussed in a critical light, acknowledging the challenges that the different natures of the sources may pose. In this chapter, the material is approached on a practical level: what kind of material do the different types of sources include, and how can this material be used to study the different aspects of village life. The material has been divided into three groups: written sources, the built environment, and other material culture, with the last referring mainly to the objects. These groups are somewhat artificial, but as there are different possibilities and challenges connected to each, this division has been considered functional.

A common characteristic of archaeological and historical material available when studying the medieval and early modern countryside in Finland is their sporadic and scattered nature. Because of this, neither is well suited for statistical analysis, especially when a small number of case studies is discussed. Instead, both need to be approached in a qualitative and interpretive way. The specific source critical challenges connected to written sources, buildings, and objects are discussed further in this chapter. After focusing on the individual groups of sources, the source critical challenges in combining the different materials are discussed on a more general level.

5.1 PEOPLE IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES

Representativeness of written documents concerning medieval and early modern Finland is quite poor, especially for the Middle Ages. Only a small number of documents have been preserved and they do not form a systematic group of sources. This is one of the main reasons why the written sources only give a very limited picture of medieval – and, in most cases, even early modern – life in the Finnish rural areas. Even from the mid-16th century onwards, when the number of documents produced and preserved increased considerably, many people were still left out, just like most aspects of life that are not directly connected to taxation.³⁰⁶

The number of medieval sources concerning Finland is small, and it is not uncommon for a medieval village to be first mentioned in the early modern tax books.³⁰⁷ The surviving documents treating Finland have mainly been gathered in the *Diplomatarium Fennicum* database, which has been studied for this work in order to gather the earliest information about studied villages.³⁰⁸ However, in these documents only three are mentioned – Västersundom, Mårtensby, and Köklax – and therefore the material included in the *Diplomatarium Fennicum* database does not form a large or systematic part of this study.³⁰⁹ The material starts to increase first in the beginning of the 16th century. A number of ac-

³⁰⁶ Orrman 1994; Walta 1994; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003b.

³⁰⁷ E.g. Österberg 1981; Orrman 1986; Orrman 1994.

³⁰⁸ *Diplomatarium Fennicum* (DF) 2020.

³⁰⁹ These documents are discussed in the following chapters treating the villages in question.



Fig. 5.1 Tax books provide information about peasants and their farms, in this case the peasants living in Mårtensby, Helsinge, in 1540. KA2920. Photo National Archives of Finland.

count books kept by Tallinn merchants have been preserved, and these books include information about trade between the merchants and peasants from Finland.³¹⁰ Especially the books kept by the merchant Helmich Ficke in 1509–1542 contain information about peasant traders from Uusimaa, some of them from the studied villages.³¹¹ Although these accounts do not contain systematic information about all the inhabitants of Uusimaa, they offer interesting insight into the coastal economy and contacts during the Late Middle Ages. The two books kept by Ficke that contain information about peasants from Uusimaa have been studied for this work using digital images provided by Tapio Salminen. All the entries concerning peasants from the studied villages have been collected and analysed to study trade and its organisation. The data has been completed with the help of publications treating peasant trade by Gunvor Kerkkonen and Tapio Salminen.³¹²

Historical sources became more systematic in Finland in the 1540s with the introduction of a new system of cadastral recording. Due to administrative changes initiated by King Gustav I (Vasa), detailed tax records were collected into account books and preserved in a more effective manner than previously.³¹³ For this work, all the material included in the *Old collection of accounts* concerning the parishes of Espoo, Helsinge, and Sipoo has been gone through, and information concerning the five studied villages has been collected (Fig. 5.1).

³¹⁰ See Kerkkonen 1959.

³¹¹ TLA A.f. 17, A.f. 22. The originals are kept in the Tallinn City Archive.

³¹² Kerkkonen 1959; 1963; Salminen 2013.

³¹³ Brunius 2011: 13, 51–54.

Besides tax records, these accounts contain various other types of documents, such as lists of fines and copies of letters and receipts. Although most of the information concerning the studied villages comes from tax records and lists of fines, they are occasionally mentioned in other types of material, such as letters or receipts, as well. These mentions sometimes contain details omitted from the more systematic sources.

The contents of the account books became more varied when the administration was reformed in the early 17th century. From the 1630s onwards, the tax records formed a part of the *New collection of accounts*. In the population lists (Fi. *henkikirjat*, Sw. *mantalslängd*) included in these accounts, the adults living in the villages were listed extensively for the first time. In this work, some years listed in the province accounts have been studied, but the material has not been explored as systematically as that of the older accounts.

In this study, the cadastral records are used to follow the settlement development of the villages during the early modern period: how many farms were there, who were the peasants responsible for the farms, and what kinds of changes happened in the number of farms during the 16th and early 17th centuries. The population lists also offer a possibility to study the number of adults living in the villages, although this only applies to those villages which were still inhabited in the 1630s. In addition, the wealth of the farms is studied with the help of the account books.

As there are no records of births or marriages preserved for the period studied here, the people are followed in the sources based on their names and patronyms. For example, when a peasant disappears from the sources and a new peasant takes over a farm in a village, it is assumed that the farm he is taking over is the same farm if the size of the farm and the new peasant's patronym match that of his predecessor. This is not an infallible method, but when the sources are compared carefully, it is usually possible to follow most of the peasants and farms in the sources most of the time.³¹⁴

Much interpretation is needed when using the cadastral records, as the names of people and places vary or may not be up to date. The names of farms were mainly not used in the tax books in the 16th and 17th centuries, so the farmer's name often stands for the farm, and the same name may stay in the books for decades after another person takes over.³¹⁵ On the other hand, there may have been several persons with the same name in a given village, making it often difficult to tell them apart.³¹⁶ Because of all this, it is often difficult to follow given farms in the tax records for longer periods of time.³¹⁷ In some cases, it is even difficult to follow the villages. In the 16th century records, the names of the villages were not always used systematically. A village may have had several names, and in cases when a village was moved to a new location, it may have kept its old name, making it sometimes difficult to connect a place named in historical records to an actual location.³¹⁸

Tax records offer a possibility to compare the wealth of the peasants, although in most cases this only pertains to the extent of land they farmed. However, there are some exceptions, which give a better idea of the overall wealth of the peasants. For example, in 1571, a special tax usually referred to as the *silver tax* was imposed in Sweden. The tax was to be one tenth of the monetary value of the cattle and precious metals owned by a household, so these

³¹⁴ See, e.g., Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003b.

³¹⁵ Mäkelä-Alitalo 2003b: 213; Brunius 2011: 75.

³¹⁶ Salminen 2013: 379–400.

³¹⁷ Mäkelä 1979: 89–90.

³¹⁸ E.g. Suhonen 2008.

were counted farm by farm, making it possible to compare their wealth.³¹⁹ In the parish of Helsing, the ships owned by the inhabitants were also included in the lists.³²⁰ Occasionally other types of additional taxes were levied as well.³²¹ Another type of sources offering an opportunity to compare the wealth of farms from the 17th century, in this case based on the different elements of agriculture, comprised lists of cattle and the amount of sown grains.

Despite there not being comprehensive lists of the number of farms in the villages prior to the 1540s, attempts have been made to reconstruct the amount of medieval farms based on tax units listed in the early modern cadastral records.³²² In the province of Porvoo, to which Mäkkylä, Mårtensby, and Västersundom belonged, two old taxes are mentioned in the first tax book in 1540: *margeld*³²³ and *helskatt*, full tax. It is thought that one full *margeld* represented one farm during the colonisation period or soon thereafter, and one full tax stood for a farm in the second half of the 14th century, when the tax was imposed. Based on the amount of these two taxes paid in 1540s, the number of farms grew during the Middle Ages. For example, the number of farms in the parish of Helsing has been estimated to have been 75 in the beginning of the 14th century, and 200 in the late 14th century.³²⁴ In the province of Raasepori, the tax unit representing a farm in the late 14th century was a *skattmark*, and here also the number of farms seems to have increased during the Middle Ages.³²⁵ It is more difficult to determine the number of inhabitants in a given village or farm, as even the adults are not comprehensively listed until the 1630s. It has been estimated that the average number of inhabitants on an early modern farm in Southern Finland was between 7 and 11, and the same is thought to have applied in the 14th century as well.³²⁶ Based on these numbers, it is possible to make rough estimations of the population, but not to study the number of inhabitants in detail.

Another group of written sources available when studying early modern rural life are court records (Fi. *tuomiokirjat*, Sw. *domsböcker*). Records kept during court sessions not only tell a great deal about the crimes people committed and the juridical system and how it was maintained, but also the everyday life of the people involved. Court records from Uusimaa have mostly been preserved from the 1620s onwards, but in addition there is one volume of cases from the province of Porvoo dating to 1592–1596³²⁷ and two volumes from the province of Raasepori, one dating to 1561–1562 and the other to 1606–1608.³²⁸ Lists of fines, a predecessor of court records, were included in the earlier tax books, but compared to the later court records, these are short and offer less information about the circumstances of the treated incidents.

In this work, court records are used to study details of the material and social world of the studied villages. All the cases where the villages are mentioned have been collected and the details treating buildings, objects, the people attending the court, the trusted po-

³¹⁹ Brunius 2011: 80–81.

³²⁰ KA 3324.

³²¹ Brunius 2011: 77–88.

³²² E.g. Voinomaa 1912: 2, 169–170; Oja 1955; Österberg 1981.

³²³ The forms *margäld* and *markgäld* are also used.

³²⁴ Kerkkonen 1963: 79–82; Seppälä 2009: 55–56; Salminen 2013: 263.

³²⁵ Haggrén 2011a: 159–160.

³²⁶ See Salminen 2013: 263.

³²⁷ KA 219.

³²⁸ KA 216d; RA Raseborgs län 1606–1608.

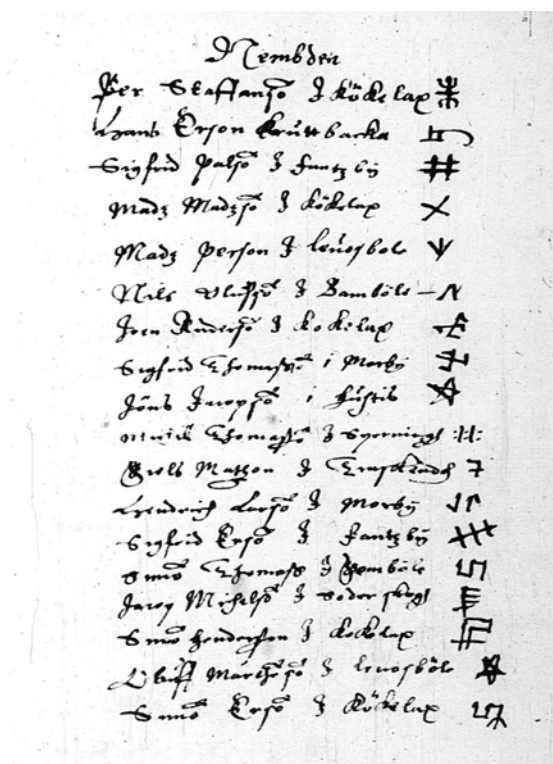


Fig. 5.2 The witnesses, among them five peasants from Köklax, have signed a land survey with their marks in 1603. KA 3513. Photo National Archives of Finland.

sitions they have held, and the contacts they have had have been analysed.³²⁹ In this way it has been possible to study the rural contact networks and the roles that different people had in the community. The peasants chosen for the trusted positions often came from the wealthiest farms of the parishes, but not always, as it was more important that they were trusted by their peers and thought to be capable of dealing with different matters. Still, these positions were often passed on from generation to generation and held by the members of the local peasant elite.³³⁰

Although court records offer much information, there are also some challenges involved when they are used in research. Finding the cases where studied villages, people, or phenomena are mentioned can often be done only by going through all the records on the studied parishes, which is time-consuming.³³¹ Another challenge is that court records are not a systematic group of sources. Only some inhabitants came into contact with the law, so court records do not contain information about all villagers and farms. Still, compared to tax records, court records offer a more varied picture of the different people living in the villages.

Although historical documents offer a great set of sources when early modern village life is studied, there are some issues that should be kept in mind. Historical documents have always been produced with certain aims, which means that they are selective accounts of the past, including some people and events while leaving others out. Their contents can never be fully trusted, as they may include human errors, as well as intentional falsification of information in order to achieve certain goals. All this needs to be considered when working with historical sources. Nonetheless, the source critical approach does not mean that sources cannot be interpreted; they just need to be interpreted based on a thorough evaluation of such aspects as reliability, dating, and the factors behind their formation.³³²

The early modern written documents studied in this work were mainly produced by people working in the administration, who aimed to document things that were important for maintaining the economy or laws of the Crown and the Church. There are very few occa-

³²⁹ For detailed lists of cases mentioning the studied villages, see Appendices 2 and 3.

³³⁰ Jutikkala 1958: 124; Suvanto 1987: 330–339; Katajala 1994: 230; Katajala 2006: 794–796.

³³¹ In some areas of Finland, the court records have been indexed by keywords, but this is not the case with Uusimaa.

³³² Thurén 2013: 6–8; 17–26; 63–64; 81–89.

sions where the people participated in the creation of any of the documents themselves. The main exception to this are the signs used by jurors (*Fi. lautamies*, *Sw. nämndeman*) when signing protocols in the early 17th century, amongst them several inhabitants of the five villages studied here (Fig. 5.2).

In addition to the sources discussed here, maps also form a central type of material when rural settlement history is examined. In contrast to most historical sources, their use in archaeology has been much discussed in Finland.³³³ Because of this, and for the reason that they are a good source for large-scale changes in early modern settlement development but tell little about discrete farmsteads, they are not treated in depth in this chapter. Instead, they are used to briefly consider the settlement history of each village in the following chapters.

5.2 BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND THE USE OF SPACE

There are very few medieval and early modern buildings still standing in Finland. Most of those are stone buildings – mainly churches, castles, and a small number of manor houses, all of which have typically been heavily restored. Besides these, stone buildings were erected in urban milieus, but even in towns they started to become more common first during the second half of the 16th century and in the 17th century.³³⁴ In rural areas, churches were the only common stone buildings in the Late Middle Ages, as even stone manors were quite rare.³³⁵ Otherwise, the buildings were made of wood.

There are very few medieval or early modern wooden buildings, especially secular ones, preserved to this day in Finland. For example, according to a recent survey in Vantaa, the oldest surviving wooden buildings there were built between the 1740s and 1790s.³³⁶ Even written documents offer little help when medieval or early modern rural buildings are studied. Account books seldom mention any farm buildings, and there are no documents such as estate inventories or fire insurances on common rural farms from the period studied here. Court records sometimes include information on houses or other surroundings of the cases under investigation, but these mentions are random and often quite general. Even the earliest maps from the 17th and 18th centuries rarely give a complete picture of different farm buildings, as the maps are often sketchy when it comes to buildings.

Because of the lack of standing buildings and written sources, the information on Finnish medieval and early modern buildings has traditionally been based on the scarce written sources, which have been completed with later ethnographic material and examples from neighbouring areas.³³⁷ However, it has been noted that because ethnographic material is typically much younger, it may not represent medieval buildings well.³³⁸ As archaeological record has increased during the past decades, it has become the most important primary source on medieval buildings, even in Finland, complemented by the scarce historical

³³³ See, e.g., Lehtinen 2005; Mökkönen 2006; Suhonen 2008; 2010.

³³⁴ Uotila 2003; 2007; Uotila & Korhonen 2012; Seppänen 2012: 645–652; Niukkanen et al. 2014: 63–65; Saksa 2018: 74.

³³⁵ Talve 1997: 35; Rosendahl 2007b.

³³⁶ Eskola 2018.

³³⁷ E.g. Valonen 1963; Valonen 1966; Valonen & Vuoristo 1994: 14–21; Talve 1997: 32–49.

³³⁸ Lagerstedt 2004: 88; Beronius Jörpeland 2010: 38.

sources and later ethnographic data, both of which can help in interpreting the often fragmentary constructions found at excavations.³³⁹

Wooden buildings have been more extensively studied in urban than rural contexts in Finnish archaeology. Most extensive work on urban buildings has been done by Liisa Seppänen, who has thoroughly studied the material from Turku.³⁴⁰ The built environment of the early modern towns along the Gulf of Bothnia has also been treated by several archaeologists.³⁴¹ The most extensive work on rural buildings has been done by Juha-Matti Vuorinen, who has studied Iron Age and early medieval buildings in Mulli, Finland Proper.³⁴² Iron Age buildings, and sometimes also the early medieval phases of the sites, have received attention in some other studies as well.³⁴³ The later medieval and early modern rural buildings have been subject to less research, especially when it comes to building techniques. Some aspects, like construction elements such as fireplaces or the different functions of the buildings, have been discussed,³⁴⁴ and in the case of some well-published sites like Mankby in Espoo and Gubbacka in Vantaa, the buildings have been part of the studies.³⁴⁵ However, broader in-depth comparisons of buildings at different sites are still lacking.

Some general characteristics of Finnish rural buildings can be defined based on archaeological material and examples from later historical times. As many of the building traditions have their roots in earlier periods, the Iron Age buildings are also interesting when medieval sites are studied. The number of excavated Iron Age buildings is quite small in Finland, probably at least partly because the typical excavation method in Finland has been based on small trenches. This makes it hard to detect the remains in a similar way as in Scandinavian countries where large areas are opened mechanically.³⁴⁶ Based on the small amount of material, there were two types of buildings in Western Finland during the Late Iron Age, Scandinavian-type longhouses with posts and smaller log cabins built with corner-notched timbers, typical of Slavic areas.³⁴⁷ Both types of buildings were normally heated with hearths, which could be situated in the middle of the room or along a wall. Buildings based on post constructions seem to have been more common during the Early and Middle Iron Age, with log cabins gaining more popularity during the Late Iron Age and becoming the common building type in the Middle Ages.³⁴⁸ In this regard, the development of building practices in Finland was very similar to that in Sweden.³⁴⁹ In Scandinavia, houses with sunken floors were also built in the Iron Age. They were typically used for activities like handicrafts and are therefore seen as indicating specialised activities on a farmstead, possibly related to high social status of the farm.³⁵⁰ There are some known Finnish examples

³³⁹ See, e.g., Seppänen 2012: 23–24.

³⁴⁰ Seppänen 2012.

³⁴¹ E.g. Kallio & Lipponen 2005; Ylimaunu 2007; Kallio-Seppä 2013.

³⁴² Vuorinen 2009.

³⁴³ E.g. Uino 1986; Schulz & Schulz 1992; Viitanen 1995; Nuñez & Uino 1998.

³⁴⁴ E.g. Koivisto, R. 2009; Tevali 2010a 2010; Mikkanen 2015; 2017.

³⁴⁵ Koivisto et al. 2010; Harjula et al. 2016; Väisänen 2016.

³⁴⁶ Nuñez & Uino 1998: 144; Vanhanen & Koivisto 2015: 51.

³⁴⁷ See, e.g., Göthberg 2000; Khoroshev & Sorrokin 1992: 136–148.

³⁴⁸ Nuñez & Uino 1998: 143–147; Viitanen 2001.

³⁴⁹ Augustsson 1992; Rahmqvist 1992; Qviström 2007.

³⁵⁰ Evanni 2007.

of houses with sunken floors from the Late Iron Age or Early Middle Ages, but overall these appear to have been rare in Finland during this period.³⁵¹

During the Early Middle Ages, the building types changed gradually, although the different traditions continued long side by side.³⁵² The timber houses became more common and hearths were replaced by ovens placed next to a wall (Fig. 5.3). The oldest ovens in Finland date to the Iron Age, but they became more common during the Middle Ages, from 1000–1200 AD onwards. At the same time, the different activities of rural farms were divided into several buildings, a process that also started in Sweden around the same time.³⁵³

In Sweden, the Iron Age long houses had several functions, which were gradually divided between separate buildings around in the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages.³⁵⁴ As the Iron Age building traditions are still quite poorly known in Finland, it is difficult to say if the developments here followed the same lines as in Sweden. In any case, by the Late Middle Ages, the buildings in Finnish villages included dwelling houses, stables and animal shelters, barns, storage buildings, and workshops, for example.³⁵⁵ Likely, the same was also true of earlier medieval villages, as Swedish medieval laws defined the different outbuildings which were to be found in vicarages and on tenant farms, giving an idea of the varied types of buildings used on rural farmsteads.³⁵⁶ Archaeological excavations in both Sweden and Finland have shown that in practice there were also several types of buildings in both rural and urban areas.³⁵⁷

The archaeological material may not give a complete picture of the different building types, and it is likely that dwelling houses are overrepresented in the Finnish medieval ar-



Fig. 5.3 Late medieval oven foundations are often massive structures. Elina Terävä excavating an oven in Gubbäcka. Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.

chaeological material, including the sites studied here. Large stone ovens were typically built in dwelling houses from the Late Middle Ages onwards, and because these constructions are easy to notice during surveys and excavations, dwelling houses are often the best documented during field work.³⁵⁸ On the other hand, it is often difficult to determine the function of an excavated building, and the functions may have varied over time and even between different seasons.³⁵⁹ In this work, the

³⁵¹ Jäkärä & Taivainen 2005.

³⁵² Gustafsson 2007.

³⁵³ Qviström 2007: 226–230; Vuorinen 2009: 21–61; Mikkanen 2017: 6–16.

³⁵⁴ Augustsson 1992: 64–65.

³⁵⁵ Vuorela 1975: 359–389.

³⁵⁶ Augustsson 1995: 9–10.

³⁵⁷ E.g. Augustsson 1995; Lagerstedt 2004; Seppänen 2012; Rosendahl & Salonen 2015.

³⁵⁸ Heinonen et al. 2017; Heinonen 2018: 22.

³⁵⁹ Valonen & Vuoristo 1994: 43–45; Svart Kristiansen 2002.

structures related to a building, especially the fireplace but also the finds connected to it, have been used to interpret its function. However, in many cases the interpretations remain tentative.

For this work, the excavated buildings have been studied both spatially with the help of a GIS program, in order to document the development of the villages, and in detail to determine what changes may have occurred in the building practices. This kind of focus on continuity and change in architecture and site layout is a typical approach within different fields of archaeology when studying socio-economic shifts,³⁶⁰ and it has also often been used in Scandinavian rural archaeology when the settlement development in the Iron Age and Middle Ages has been studied.³⁶¹ However, as there are several overlapping structures at most of the studied sites, it is often difficult to interpret the development of different buildings and date the different building phases. In Sweden, it has been noted how medieval buildings have often been preserved only fragmentarily and are therefore difficult to interpret.³⁶² The same applies for the Finnish buildings as well.

Most of the C14 dates which have been used to date the buildings in this work are from charred wood originating from the walls, floors, or fireplace structures, or in some cases perhaps from charred firewood. This poses some problems, as the dates that have been obtained date first the wood, not the buildings, and depending on the part of the wood that was dated, this date may be much older than when the wood was cut down and used for building. Therefore, the dates do not necessarily represent the time when a given building was erected but rather give a *terminus post quem*.³⁶³ Liisa Seppänen has calculated that the wood used for walls in dwelling houses in Turku was typically between 70 to 250 years old, and in the case of outbuildings the age of wood could vary 50–130 years.³⁶⁴ Thus, the radiocarbon dates obtained from construction wood may be hundreds of years older than the building itself, making it important to compare them to stratigraphy and finds in order to obtain reliable dates.

Objects found in connection to buildings normally give additional information on the period when the structures were used. At the rural sites in Southern Finland, this is often the case when late medieval buildings are studied. In the case of the oldest structures (in this work meaning those from the 13th century or prior), the number of finds is typically much smaller, and the material consists mainly of small iron fragments and low-fired earthenware ceramics, which are hard to date. This is a typical situation for the period even in other areas of Finland and Scandinavia.³⁶⁵

5.3 MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE VILLAGES

Objects used in villages can give a great deal of information about the material culture and its development, but also about other phenomena. By studying a variety of objects and comparing their distribution at sites, it is possible to discuss the differences between the material culture of the studied farms and villages. These differences may indicate differences in vil-

³⁶⁰ See, e.g., Cutting 2006.

³⁶¹ E.g. Göthberg 2000; Schmidt Sabo 2001; Lagerstedt 2004; Svensson 2008; Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019.

³⁶² Beronius Jörpeland 2010: 5, 37–38.

³⁶³ See Göthberg 2007: 403–404.

³⁶⁴ Seppänen 2012: 627–628.

³⁶⁵ Schmidt Sabo 2001: 24–25; Adel 2010; Salmi et al. 2013.

lagers' contact networks, livelihoods, wealth, and social status, for example. Therefore, it is also possible to discuss a number of other questions based on the material culture.

Archaeological finds offer the best and most systematic source when medieval and early modern material culture is studied, even though written records sometimes provide additional information about the subject. However, this information is not systematic, but merely consists of random remarks. Tax records seldom mention objects or buildings, and even the traded items listed in the 16th-century merchants' accounts are typically foodstuffs and wood, not objects. In some cases, the court records give a more varied picture of material culture from the 17th century onwards, but even though they may provide interesting details, based on them it is not possible to compare the objects used at different farms. Instead, archaeology offers a chance for this.

Owing to the increasing amount of material, the picture of medieval rural material culture has changed notably during the past two decades. In the early 2000s, the Finnish medieval and early modern rural material was still considered to be quite one-sided, consisting mainly of burnt clay and nails, and including very few imported objects.³⁶⁶ Since then, however, the picture has changed, as the number of excavations on village sites has increased. The material has been shown to be more varied, and at least in Southern Finland, imported objects are found at almost every extensively excavated site.³⁶⁷ Imported objects have been used at rural sites in other parts of Finland as well,³⁶⁸ but based on the current research it is difficult to tell how common this was at different types of sites.

Although the material culture in the villages seems to be more varied than previously thought, the number of medieval finds is usually quite small at rural sites, especially when compared to urban excavations. This is likely due to several things: preservation issues, the small number of objects used on the farms in the first place, and the ways in which the waste was treated. One explanation for the small number of finds is the possible range of post-depositional factors, meaning all the things that happened to the material after it was discarded.³⁶⁹ As a rule, organic material does not preserve well in Finnish soil, which has a large impact on the find material. Only some of the objects which were used in the past have survived until today, and many of the surviving objects are in a condition which makes it impossible to date or identify them more closely.³⁷⁰

Most of the finds collected on archaeological excavations originate from different types of waste layers. Because objects were often reused, recycled, or discarded in specific places, only some of them are deposited in places where they were originally used and lost or abandoned.³⁷¹ Liisa Seppänen has noted how changing ideas of the ways in which waste should be handled have had a profound impact on the consistency of the archaeological find material. Different materials were treated differently, and therefore ceramics, for example, are more often found in waste layers than metal objects, which were often reused after their initial use.³⁷²

³⁶⁶ E.g. Haggrén 2002; Haggrén 2005a.

³⁶⁷ See, e.g., Haggrén 2015a: 512; Heinonen 2015b; Terävä 2016.

³⁶⁸ E.g. Niukkanen 1997; Haggrén 2000; Majantie & Uotila 2000; Niukkanen 2000; Pellinen 2007; Salmi et al. 2013; Sarajärvi 2013.

³⁶⁹ See Schiffer 1987.

³⁷⁰ Suhonen 2003; 2009: 150–155.

³⁷¹ Schiffer 1987: 27–98.

³⁷² Tagesson 2000: 163–167; Seppänen 2012: 86–88.

Object group	Types of objects
Building and living	Flints, stove tiles, rivets, nails, window glass, rods, locks, keys, iron fittings
Handicrafts	Knives with a tang (puukko), knife fragments, whetstones, loom weights, spindle whorls, thimbles, needles, augers, hammers, iron bars, spokeshaves, awls, axes, wedges
Agriculture	Scythes, sickles, spade irons, cowbells
Hunting and fishing	Fishing hooks, fishing line weights, arrowheads, spearheads
Personal objects and clothing	Cloth seals, clasps, buttons, beads, pendants, finger rings, brooches, buckles, bronze plates, strap mounts
Table culture and cooking	Ceramic vessels, glass vessels, metal vessels, table knives, bronze cauldrons
Leisure	Dices, musical instruments, clay pipes
Horses and riding equipment	Horse shoes, horse shoe nails, spurs, ice shoes for horses, horse shoe nails used in winter, bits, straps
Trade and economy	Coins, jettons, weights
Folkbeliefs and religion	Stone Age objects, cross pendants, rosary beads, icons
Military objects	Canon balls, pieces of armour, scabbards, flint from flintlocks, lead bullets

Table 5.1 Object categories used in this work.

Different ways to treat waste are also visible in the Finnish rural material. Typically, just a small number of objects are found inside medieval or early modern rural buildings in Finland, in the layers connected to floors. Apparently, the floors were cleaned well, and the waste was taken elsewhere, away from the buildings and their immediate surroundings. This is most evident with ceramics, as only a small number of pieces from a given vessel tend to typically be found, even in cases where the excavated area is extensive.³⁷³ Because of the small number of artefacts left in the places they were originally used, it is often difficult to determine the function of a building or to discuss the use of different spaces on a village plot.

Still, despite the relatively small number of finds and the challenges the different contexts provide, archaeological finds give an interesting perspective on the material culture of the villages. In this work, in order to detect the common characteristics of the material and systematically discuss the altogether large number of finds, objects have been divided into different categories based on their main function. This is a typical approach in Finnish and Scandinavian historical archaeology, especially when the distribution of different activities at a site has been studied. By placing the objects into categories, it is possible to discuss where similar activities took place, even if different objects were used in them.³⁷⁴ This kind of approach has also been criticised, because it only identifies the primary function of an object, often disregarding the varied and changing functions that a single object could have had in reality.³⁷⁵ In addition, it is often challenging to study the different activities based on the distribution of finds at historical sites, as they were often settled for long periods, and the material is therefore fragmented and difficult to interpret.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ See, e.g., Kadakas & Väisänen 2012; Terävä 2016.

³⁷⁴ E.g. Schmidt Sabo 2001; Lagerstedt 2004; Svensson 2008; Koivisto, R. 2009; Terävä 2016.

³⁷⁵ E.g. Herva & Nurmi 2009.

³⁷⁶ See Schmid 2014.

It is true that categorising objects often oversimplifies their meaning and functions, but it is still a useful starting point when dealing with a large and varied body of material like the one studied here. It is used in this case as a way to approach the material in a somewhat systematic manner, although it is acknowledged that systematisation of the material also flattens it. In this work, the objects are divided into the following categories (Table 5.1): building and living, handicrafts, table culture and cooking, personal objects and clothing, horses and riding equipment, hunting and fishing, agriculture, leisure, trade, and folk beliefs and religion. In the following chapters, where the studied sites are examined, some of the categories with less finds are grouped together in the text. For example, finds connected to agriculture, hunting, and fishing are discussed together under the heading of livelihoods.

The following finds are included in the different groups:

Building and living

Typical finds connected to building and living are different metal objects and flint flakes, which are the result of striking fire. The metal objects mostly consist of nails, rods, plates, and fittings, which may have been used for building but also for a number of other activities. In this work, these finds are noted as part of the building and living category, but as they are usually difficult to identify or date more closely, they are not discussed in detail. Objects connected to everyday living are usually easier to identify, and these include locks, keys, fire-strikers, and candlesticks, as well as fragments from stove tiles, for example. The material also contains some window glass, including small panes with grozed edges typical of panes cut before the early 17th century. Besides glass panes, the finds connected to windows include lead casement frames, into which the panes were fitted.

Table culture and cooking

Finds connected to table culture and cooking include different types of pottery, glass vessels, table knives, and metal cauldrons. The classification of ceramics found at medieval and early modern excavations in Finland is often challenging, first and foremost due to the notable fragmentation of the material. Overall, the Finnish material is composed of the typical pottery types used around the Baltic Sea, including low-fired greyware or earthenware, proto-stoneware, stoneware, near-stoneware, older and younger lead-glazed redware or red earthenware, lead-glazed whiteware, tin-glazed ceramics or faience, and porcelain. Main groups of these found in Finland before the mid-17th century are low-fired earthenware, stoneware and younger lead-glazed redware.³⁷⁷

The group of low-fired earthenware found in Southern Finland consists of different types of vessels, mainly used for cooking and likely originating from different areas. Some of the vessels resemble Finnish *Iron Age-type ceramics*,³⁷⁸ which is an umbrella term used for ceramics manufactured especially in Western Finland and Tavastia, but also in Karelia,

³⁷⁷ Pihlman 1995; 2003; 2018; Compare to e.g. Wahlöö 1976; Elfwendahl 1999; Rosén 2004; Linaa 2006; Russow 2006; Stašulāne & Legzdina 2019.

³⁷⁸ Fi. *rautakaudentyypin keramiikka*.

during the Late Iron Age.³⁷⁹ These vessels have been manufactured by hand, and they have rather straight walls that may turn slightly inwards from the neck. The rim is typically straight or slightly wavy. Despite being called Iron Age-type ceramics, the manufacture and use of similar vessels continued until the late 14th century in Finland Proper and Tavastia, and although this kind of vessels are typically found at rural sites, where they were likely manufactured, they were even used in Turku in the 14th century.³⁸⁰ It is likely that similar ceramics found in Uusimaa represent the same tradition.³⁸¹

Some of the low-fired earthenware shards found in Southern Finland originate from highly profiled, wheel-turned vessels, which are often decorated with wavy and straight lines. This type of ceramics was originally manufactured in Slavic areas, but during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, it spread around the Baltic Sea area. In Scandinavia, this type of ceramics that was manufactured outside the Slavic areas is called Baltic ware.³⁸² This term has also been used for the similar type of ceramics found in Finland³⁸³ or Baltic states,³⁸⁴ although it has also been questioned if vessels found outside Scandinavia should be called Baltic ware.³⁸⁵ Other names used for this type of pottery in Finland include Slavic ware, Karelian ware, Slavic-Karelian ware, and Slavic-style ceramics.³⁸⁶ To avoid the difficulties related to names based on ethnic groups, terms like *early wheel-shaped pottery* have sometimes been preferred to the names presented above,³⁸⁷ and this is also the approach taken in this work by using the term *low-fired earthenware*. Although this kind of pottery was mainly used during the Iron Age and medieval period, similar vessels were manufactured and used until the 19th century in Karelia.³⁸⁸

Another group of ceramics frequently found in Southern Finland is stoneware, and in lesser amounts also proto-stoneware, both mainly manufactured in western Central Europe. Proto-stoneware was manufactured from the mid-12th century onwards, and real stoneware with a fully fused body was developed by the end of the 13th century. As stoneware is hard and impervious to water but sensitive to applied heat, it is well suited for storing and serving liquids but unsuitable for cooking.³⁸⁹ Based on archaeological evidence, stoneware and proto-stoneware were imported to Finland from the 13th century onwards.³⁹⁰

The most common type of ceramics used in late medieval and early modern Finland was redware or red-fired earthenware (Fig. 5.4). Glazed redware vessels were manufactured especially in Germany and the Netherlands, but also in Southern Scandinavia already from the 13th century onwards.³⁹¹ Often richly decorated older lead glazed redware vessels are

³⁷⁹ Enqvist 2004: 13–16.

³⁸⁰ Pihlman 2003: 195–196, 199–201; Adel 2010: 7; 2011: 32; Moilanen 2016: 36.

³⁸¹ Jansson et al. 2010: 76; Heinonen 2020.

³⁸² E.g. Roslund 2007: 279; Naum 2012.

³⁸³ E.g. Haggrén 2005b: 92–94; Jansson et al. 2010.

³⁸⁴ Gunnarssone 2019.

³⁸⁵ See Terävä 2016: 152–153.

³⁸⁶ Enqvist 2006; Laakso 2014: 51. These terms have sometimes also been used for Iron Age-type ceramics in Finland.

³⁸⁷ E.g. Gunnarssone 2019: 41.

³⁸⁸ Tvaari 2000: 98–105; Enqvist 2002: 31; Laakso 2014: 51.

³⁸⁹ Gaimster 1997: 34–35.

³⁹⁰ Luoto 1984a: 107–108; Pihlman 2003: 196–197; 2018: 236–241; Pihlman 2018: 236–241.

³⁹¹ Verhaegen 1983; Madsen 1983; Elfwendahl 1999: 40–41; Kock 2007.



Fig. 5.4 Redware pipkins are the most common type of pottery found in late medieval and early modern villages in southern Finland. Redaware and whiterware pipkins in the collection of the Maritime Museum of Finland. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

only found in small quantities in Finland, mainly in Finland Proper.³⁹² Overall, redware vessels started to become more common in Finland during the second half of the 15th century, when tripod pipkins with a lead glaze on the inside started to gain popularity. From the 16th century onwards, the material became more varied, as bowls and plates were introduced. In the 17th century, these were often richly decorated.³⁹³

Other types of ceramics are found in much smaller quantities, and they mostly date to the early modern period. Besides redware, lead glazed whiteware dating to the late 16th or early 17th century is sometimes found in Southern Finland, but in lesser quantities than redware.³⁹⁴ Shards belonging to majolica vessels have also been found in Uusimaa. These are whiteware vessels with often multi-coloured painted decoration and a white tin glaze on one surface and a lead glaze on the other surface. The lead glaze is the clearest element which separates them from faience vessels.³⁹⁵ Some hard-fired greyware manufactured in Bohemia, Saxony, or southern Poland in the late 16th or early 17th century, typically referred to as near-stoneware or *Levine-type ceramics*, has also been found from several sites in Southern Finland.³⁹⁶ Faience and porcelain gained popularity in Finland during the early modern period, but these are rarely found at rural sites in Southern Finland before the second half of the 17th century.

Besides pottery, metal cauldrons were used in the villages for cooking. Another typical group of finds are table knives, which were used for eating. Table knives became common in Finland during the 16th century, and early modern table knives are found in both Southern and Northern Finland in various contexts.³⁹⁷ Other types of cutlery are rarely found when medieval and early modern villages are excavated in Southern Finland, although examples from other Iron Age and medieval sites in Finland have shown that spoons made of bone, antler, or wood were frequently used,³⁹⁸ and they must have been common here as well. In addition, spoons made of precious metals were used in rural areas already in the Middle

³⁹² Pihlman 2003: 198; Pihlman 2018: 235–236.

³⁹³ Niukkanen 2007.

³⁹⁴ Niukkanen 1994: 316; Tevali 2019b.

³⁹⁵ The definition of majolica ceramics follows Russow 2006: 117–120.

³⁹⁶ Niukkanen 1998; Salonen & Väisänen 2006; Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 341; Väisänen 2016: 162.

³⁹⁷ Heikkinen 1994; Haggrén et al. 2011b; Salmi et al. 2018.

³⁹⁸ Hirviluoto 1990; Immonen 2003; Raninen 2016.

Ages. They are often mentioned in written sources, even in secular contexts, from the 15th century onwards, and by the early modern period, they had become quite common. Several silver spoons have been found in rural treasures, indicating their widespread use by the late 16th century.³⁹⁹ Still, they are rarely found at excavations.

Handicrafts

Items related to handicrafts include a variety of different objects used for working materials like wood and textiles. Most of these objects were made of wood, clay, or iron, and they were likely produced locally. The tools found at rural excavations are mostly made of iron, and they include objects like axes, adzes, augers, needles, and wedges. Whetstones used for sharpening blades are also commonly found. Besides the archaeological material, written records give some indication of craftsmen living in the villages.⁴⁰⁰

In this work, knives that cannot clearly be defined as table knives are counted as objects related to handicrafts, as they have acted as multi-purposed tools used for a variety of activities. This view is somewhat problematic, as even the common knives with a tang could have been used for eating.⁴⁰¹ In some studies, knives have been grouped under headings like *multi-functional tools*,⁴⁰² but here no such distinction between different tools has been made. In many fragmentary cases, it is hard to distinguish common knives from table knives. In this work, all the blade fragments which have not been identified as originating from table knives are counted as knives used for all purposes.

Personal objects and clothing

Personal objects include a variety of items, such as pieces of jewellery, pendants, buckles, and fittings. It is not always easy to discern items used by humans from those used in horse equipment, so especially in the case of fittings and buckles the interpretations need to be viewed with caution. It may also be difficult to tell if an object was worn by a man or a woman, since items like belts, bracelets, metal fittings, and ring brooches were used by both.⁴⁰³

Another group of finds related to personal appearance and clothing are lead cloth seals. Cloth seals are often found at urban excavations, but they are rarer in rural contexts. Still, written sources show that during the medieval and early modern periods, cloth was imported to rural areas as well.⁴⁰⁴ The small number of cloth seals in the finds can partly be explained by the lead being recycled in order to make new objects.⁴⁰⁵ Besides telling about clothing, cloth seals also indicate trade, but as the same is true for many other groups of objects (like pottery and glass vessels), in this work cloth seals are categorised based on the everyday activity they are connected to, namely, the ways of dressing.

³⁹⁹ Immonen 2009a: 222–238; 2009b: 8–10.

⁴⁰⁰ Suvanto 1987: 163.

⁴⁰¹ See, e.g., Svensson 2008; Terävä 2016.

⁴⁰² E.g. Lagerstedt 2004: 106.

⁴⁰³ Immonen 2009a: 244–245, 251, 254, 265.

⁴⁰⁴ Kerkkonen 1959: 133–134.

⁴⁰⁵ Taavitsainen 1994: 335.

Trade and economy

Although many of the archaeological finds can be connected to trade or economy, in this work this group is first formed by coins. They had many different functions; besides being used to pay for purchased goods, coins were important for paying taxes to the Crown and the Church, and sometimes they were sacrificed in connection to religious rites. Still, their primary function was to transmit value, and they are therefore seen as indicative of economic activities in the villages.⁴⁰⁶

Horses and riding equipment

Horses were used as working animals and for riding throughout the medieval and early modern periods and finds connected to horses and riding are typical among the excavation material from rural sites.⁴⁰⁷ These mainly consist of horseshoes and horseshoe nails, both the types that were used in summer, as well as those used during the winter. Some of the finds can be directly connected to riding, like fragments of spurs. In addition, many of the buckles and fittings found at the excavations might originate from horse equipment. From the 16th century onwards, written records also give some information about the number of horses the farms had.

Agriculture

Agriculture was the most important livelihood for the medieval and early modern villages in mainland Uusimaa. Objects connected to agriculture include different tools used for cultivation and taking care of livestock. Typical finds include scythes, sickles, spade irons, and cowbells. Bone material and plant remains also tell about the different crops and livestock kept on the farms. In addition, written sources shed light on the agriculture, and some tax registers contain detailed information about the cultivation and livestock.

Hunting and fishing

Although agriculture was the most important livelihood for the villagers, it was supplemented by other means of subsistence. In the coastal areas, fishing was important and hunting was also practised occasionally. Typical finds connected to hunting and fishing are fishing hooks and different weapons, mainly arrowheads, used for hunting. Both hand-bow and crossbow arrowheads are found in Uusimaa. Hand-bow arrowheads were typically used for hunting, but the crossbows may have been used for fighting as well.⁴⁰⁸ Therefore, the contexts are central for interpreting the arrowheads. Besides different objects, bone material tells about the hunted and fished species.

⁴⁰⁶ See Ehrnsten 2019.

⁴⁰⁷ Terävä 2016: 159–160.

⁴⁰⁸ Terävä 2015: 118.

Leisure

There are some, although not many, objects that can be connected to leisure time at rural sites. These include dice and other small objects used for gaming. In addition, clay pipes are found even at rural sites from the 17th century onwards. Objects like musical instruments and toys can also be included in this category, but they are rare finds at rural excavations, likely because they were often made of organic materials.⁴⁰⁹

Folk beliefs and religion

Object connected to religion are sometimes found when settlement sites are excavated. In medieval and early modern Finland, these may be objects connected to the official religion (Christianity) or to folk religion. The first mentioned group contains objects like cross pendants or pilgrim badges, which have been found in Turku, for example.⁴¹⁰ The objects connected to folk religion are often more difficult to identify, because many ordinary objects were used in different rituals. One example of this are building concealments, which were made in Finland from the Iron Age to the early 20th century. Different types of objects were placed under fireplaces, walls, or thresholds in order to protect the building or to bring good luck or wealth to the inhabitants. As most of the hidden items were everyday objects like tools with a blade or animal remains, building concealments can typically be identified based on the exceptional placement of the find, the special treatment of the object, or in some cases because the object stands out from the overall material. One example of the last-mentioned group are Stone Age tools, which were sometimes concealed in later buildings.⁴¹¹

5.4 SOURCE CRITICAL CHALLENGES

As discussed above, the archaeological and historical sources employed in this work each have some source critical issues. Besides the issues connected to each material individually, there are specific challenges that arise when the different materials are used together. The main challenges are the different temporal resolution of the materials and the uncertainty of connecting the places and people mentioned in the written records with the archaeological material.⁴¹² The temporal difference is clearly visible in the case studies of this work. The oldest archaeological data at most sites dates to the 12th or 13th century, but the written records treating the villages start mainly in the 16th century. The dates obtained from the archaeological material are typically based on radiocarbon analyses or object typologies. Thus, the dates are not exact, and sometimes they give several possible ages for the dated phenomenon. Compared to historical sources, which can often be dated to a precise year, archaeological dates are imprecise, and even in the best case their accuracy is normally counted in decades.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ Rybina 1992: 173–175; Sipiläinen 2003: 300–302; Luoto 2007.

⁴¹⁰ Taavitsainen 2003.

⁴¹¹ Hukantaival 2016.

⁴¹² Haggrén 2015b: 80–81, 85–89.

⁴¹³ See Haggrén 2015b.

The case studies also demonstrate how difficult it is to connect archaeological data to people and places known from written sources. The same challenge has also been noted in other studies where written sources and archaeological data have been used together.⁴¹⁴ In this work, only one farm, Lillas in Mårtensby, can be definitively identified in both the written records and the archaeological material. The farm was located alone on a separate plot in 1699; as excavations have shown continuous settlement, consisting of a single farm at the site from the turn of the 16th century until the early 19th century, it is safe to assume that all the archaeological material can be connected to the historical records of the people living in Lillas. Still, even in this case, the material can only be discussed at a household level. The named individuals belonging to the household can only be reached in written records, not through the archaeological material.

In the case of three other villages in this study, Mankby, Mäkkylä and Köklax, written sources can quite safely be connected to archaeological material at the level of the village. In Köklax, it is even possible to connect the youngest buildings found at the excavations to farms on historical maps. However, as settlement moved around in the area of the village, it is not really safe to connect the pre-18th-century layers to specific farms, and even in the case of later farms the interpretations must be viewed with caution.⁴¹⁵ In Mäkkylä and Mankby, the old village plots were deserted before the first maps were drawn, which makes it impossible to connect the archaeological material with farms known from the written sources. Nevertheless, place names and the location of deserted plots in both sites clearly suggest that they belong to the villages in question.

The site of Gubbacka poses the hardest challenge for source critical analysis. The excavated plot is located in the historical area of the village of Västersundom. Based on the written records, the village was moved to a new location by the turn of the 17th century, and the Gubbacka plot was deserted around the same period. This has given grounds to interpret Gubbacka as the old location of Västersundom.⁴¹⁶ However, there are several unexcavated plots in the area, meaning that this interpretation may change in the future. This must be kept in mind when the historical and archaeological materials from Gubbacka/Västersundom are discussed.

Despite the difficulty of combining archaeological and historical source material on a detailed level, this is still possible on a more general level. Although the five villages discussed in this work cannot give a complete picture of the medieval and early modern social world in rural areas of Southern Finland, they act as good examples of the different aspects of the social and material variety in rural villages. When the objects, buildings, and people in the five villages are studied, different sources give different kinds of information. All this information can be combined in order to reach a more holistic understanding of the social life in medieval and early modern rural Uusimaa.

⁴¹⁴ E.g. Haggrén 1998; Rosén 2004: 98–99.

⁴¹⁵ E.g. Haggrén 2005b; Hämäläinen 2009: 70–81.

⁴¹⁶ Suhonen 2005.

6 MANKBY – A VILLAGE TURNED INTO A ROYAL DEMESNE

Mankby is situated in south-western Espoo, close to the head of Espoonlahti, a bay along the Mankinjoki river. The name Mankby is derived from *Mank(e)*, a farm name most likely based on a personal name (either the German name Mancke or the Swedish name Magnus)⁴¹⁷ or on the Swedish word *mank*, which means a horse's withers, possibly being connected to the steep hill resembling withers south-west of the plot. In any case, the village is thought to have Swedish-speaking roots.⁴¹⁸

Even though the name Mankby is likely connected to Swedish settlers, there are some place names that are derived from Finnish dialects in the area of the neighbouring villages Esboby to the north and Köklax in the south-east.⁴¹⁹ Some metal objects dating to the Crusade Period have been found from Esboå kern, a field just across the Mankinjoki from Mankby. Among them are a chain holder of a western Finnish type and fragments of a tortoise brooch with equivalents in South-eastern Finland. These finds suggest that there was

land use in the area already in the Late Iron Age, and based on the Finnish place names the land users were likely Finnish-speaking at this point.⁴²⁰

Mankby and neighbouring Esboby were deserted in the 1550s when a royal demesne was founded in the area.⁴²¹ The old location of Mankby is not marked on the oldest surviving map of the area from 1779 (Fig. 6.1),⁴²² but a group of fields east of the river Mankinjoki are called Mankåker on the map, and there is also a meadow named Mankängen. During an archaeological field survey in 2004, a well-preserved deserted village plot was found located in between the two large field areas of Mankåker; this is a very typical location

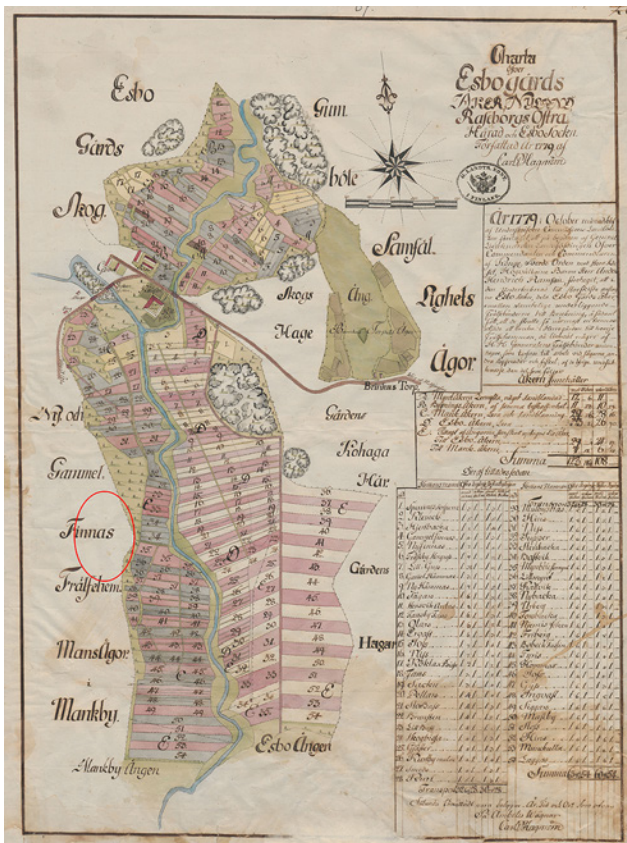


Fig. 6.1 The map from 1779 shows Mankåker fields and Mankängen meadows. The deserted medieval village plot marked circled in red. Map National Archives of Finland.

⁴¹⁷ Kepsu 2010: 79–80.

418 Haggren et al. 2008b: 10.

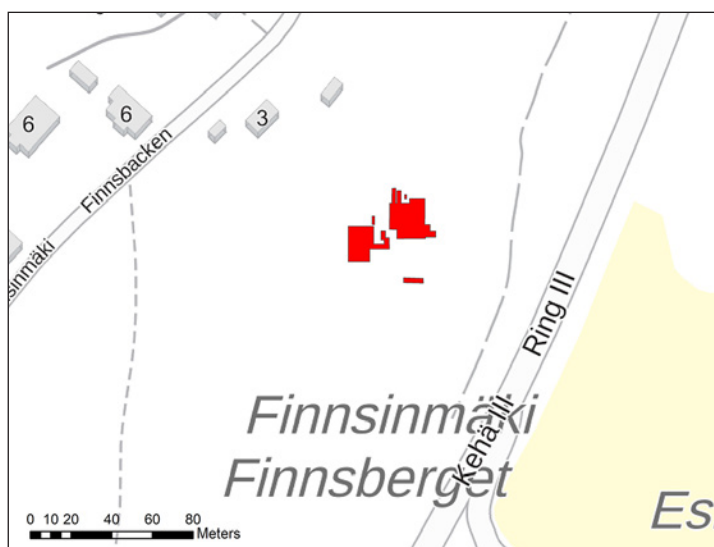
⁴¹⁹ Kepsu 2010: 35–38, 72–75, 79.

420 Wessman 2016: 25.

⁴²¹ Haggrén 2016: 45–46.

⁴²² Hagström 1779. There is also an undated concept version for the map, which is a little older than the final version; see Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 86–87.

Fig. 6.2 Excavated areas in Mankby. Map Tuuli Heinen, background map National Land Survey of Finland.



for village plots in medieval and early modern Finland.⁴²³

The old village plot is situated in a wooded area which has been left untouched by modern land use. The plot is located west of old village fields on the east-facing slope of a steep hill. According to archaeological surveys, the plot followed the slope from south to north for a strip approximately 150 metres long and 50 metres wide. The Mankinjoki river runs through the old field area, which has mainly been destroyed by modern roads, leaving the fields of Mankby on the western bank and the fields of the village of Esboby on the eastern bank.

When the 550th jubilee year of the city of Espoo was approaching in 2008, Mankby was chosen as subject of an archaeological research project by Espoo City Museum. Large-scale excavations were carried out at the site during seven field seasons from 2007 to 2013 for approximately 8 months altogether. An area of 555 m² was excavated, amounting to approximately 5% of the total site area, according to Maija Holappa's estimation (Fig. 6.2).⁴²⁴ In addition, the village area was surveyed and mapped during the project.

The earliest settlement at the site dates to the Stone Age or Early Metal Age (c. 2400–2000 BC).⁴²⁵ After the prehistoric settlement phase, the site appears to have been left unoccupied until the village was founded, most likely in the late 12th or early 13th century.⁴²⁶ Remains of late medieval ovens and roads can still be seen in the landscape. Foundations of some 20 buildings, likely dating to the last settlement phase of the site, have been documented. Two medieval buildings have been excavated extensively; in addition, remains of four earlier medieval buildings and an early modern drying barn have been studied. The excavation results were published in 2016.⁴²⁷

6.1 THE VILLAGE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The exact time when Mankby was first settled is unclear, but the oldest archaeologically excavated structures related to the medieval settlement at the site date to the turn of the 12th

⁴²³ Haggrén & Latikka 2004.

⁴²⁴ Haggrén et al. 2008b; Haggrén et al. 2009; Haggrén et al. 2010a; Haggrén et al. 2011a; Haggrén et al. 2012; Haggrén et al. 2013; Haggrén et al. 2014; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016a: 12–13; Holappa 2016: 95.

⁴²⁵ Hela-2554; Hela-2555; Hela-2613. See Appendix 5 for details of the radiocarbon dates.

⁴²⁶ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 74.

⁴²⁷ Harjula et al. 2016.

and 13th centuries.⁴²⁸ It seems that the village was settled during the period of Swedish colonisation, but as only a small part of the plot has been excavated, there may have been settlement in the village area even before this. Mankby is first mentioned in written sources in 1519, when Erik Basse from Köklax purchased salt from Helmich Ficke in Tallinn on behalf of Anders Jönsson from *Maghen buw*.⁴²⁹ This is the only time when Mankby is clearly mentioned in Ficke's accounts,⁴³⁰ and the next time Mankby appears in the written sources is in the 1540s.

Historically, Mankby belonged to both the administrative and the church parish of Espoo in the province of Raasepori. In 1541, there were eight farms in the village paying altogether five marks in taxes.⁴³¹ Six of these farms belonged to peasants living in the village, while two farms were farmed by *utbysmän* (Fi. *ulkokylänmies*), farmers who lived elsewhere but worked the fields of the uninhabited farms in Mankby.⁴³² Mankby was deserted almost completely already in 1556, and therefore there is only a small number of written sources treating the village. When King Gustav I decided to found a new royal demesne in Espoo, the area belonging to Mankby and Esboby was determined to be best suited for it. In the summer of 1556, the peasants living in the two villages were forced to leave their old farms. Only one of the former inhabitants, Vincentius or Finnicus Jacobsson, was allowed to stay in Mankby, but he had to move his farm to the outskirts of the village area.⁴³³

Written records tell little about the people living in Mankby before they had to leave their village.⁴³⁴ Only two cases involving inhabitants of Mankby are documented in the records of fines, both of them concerning fights with peasants living in close-by villages, one of them coming from Nupurböle in Espoo and the other from Bodebäck in eastern Kyrkslätt, close to Mankby.⁴³⁵ The person most often mentioned in the list of fines is Simon Larsson, who acted as a juror at least twelve times between 1546 and 1557.⁴³⁶

Georg Haggrén and Ulrika Rosendahl have traced the later phases of the farmers who had to leave Mankby in 1556 and determined that they received new farms in other villages in the area.⁴³⁷ Moving to another village must have been a notable change in the life of a peasant, as he was leaving behind his village community as well as his old farm. Still, some things remained familiar for some of the peasants. For example, Simon Larsson, who had been a lay juror for over a decade before leaving Mankby, continued in his trusted position even later on, although instead of being *Simon i Mankby*, he was now known as Simon i Masareby, Simon of Masala, after his new home village.⁴³⁸

⁴²⁸ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 78–81.

⁴²⁹ TLA Af 17: 154.

⁴³⁰ There is another mention from the same year (1519), which possibly refers to Mankby, but the case is somewhat unclear; see TLA Af 17: 155.

⁴³¹ KA 2924: 95.

⁴³² Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 134–135.

⁴³³ Ramsay 1936: 361–362; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 136–137; Haggrén 2016: 45–46.

⁴³⁴ See Appendix 2.

⁴³⁵ KA 2947: 79v; 2957: 17v.

⁴³⁶ The first time Simon i Mankby is mentioned as lay juror is in 1546 (KA 2953: 67) and the last time in 1557 (KA 3076: 32v).

⁴³⁷ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008: 136.

⁴³⁸ KA 3238: 20v. Simon acted as a juror in the local court twelve times in 1546–1557 while living in Mankby. In addition, Per Andersson is mentioned as a juror once in 1545. KA 2947: 79; KA 2953: 67; KA 3002: 128, 134, 145, 149; KA 3022a: 4v, 20, 30; KA 3046: 31, 36v; KA 3076: 30; 32v.

Fig. 6.3 The seal of Vincentius Jacobsson. Photo Georg Haggrén.



In 1571, Vincentius Jacobsson, the only remaining peasant in Mankby, was the second wealthiest peasant in Espoo after an old *länsman*.⁴³⁹ Vincentius' property was valued at 158 marks and 6 öre, which was a notable sum. Besides being wealthy, Vincentius was a trusted person. In the same year, he acted as a witness for an inventory done at the Espoo manor.⁴⁴⁰ The other witness, Envald Simonson from Träskby, had to borrow the vicar's seal to sign the document, as he did not have a seal of his own, but Vincentius used his own seal. Georg Haggrén and Anna-Maria Salonen have noted how Vincentius' seal did not resemble a typical peasant or merchant seal, as the motif was more like a real coat of arms (Fig. 6.3). Haggrén and Salonen point out the similarity between Vincentius' seal and the coat of arms of the noble family of Horn and discuss the possibility that Vincentius may have been a distant relative of the Horn family.⁴⁴¹

While it is unclear if Vincentius was really related to a noble family, he was clearly a wealthy and well-connected person. One reason for his wealth might have been his involvement in peasant trade. In 1557, Vincentius is mentioned as owning a ship (*skuta*), which he used for overseas trade.⁴⁴² As Mankby is mentioned only once in the surviving account books in Tallinn, it seems that Vincentius traded with a burgher whose account books have not been preserved. This is a good example of how the surviving records do not reveal the total extent of peasant trade between Uusimaa and Tallinn.

The farm kept its wealth and connections even after Vincentius' time, when Mats Sigfredsson took over the farm. From 1583 to 1584, Mats was compensated for taking cargo to Nöteborg, Narva, and Tallinn, in one case losing an anchor during one of the trips.⁴⁴³ Mats was a trusted figure in the parish, as he got to witness an inventory at the Espoo manor in the 1580s.⁴⁴⁴ However, the late 16th and early 17th centuries were not an easy time for the farm; in 1601, for example, the farm was noted to be poor because the cold weather had caused a crop failure.⁴⁴⁵ Still, the farm managed to keep paying taxes throughout the difficult times.

While the settlement at Finnsbacka where Vincentius Jacobsson's farm was located continued until modern times, the old village plot was left unoccupied after the 1550s. Although no settlement was established at the site after the village was moved, other land use in the area continued. A drying barn was built in the old village area in the late 16th century, and the demesne's livestock was possibly kept in the area.⁴⁴⁶

⁴³⁹ KA 3324: 92r, 98r. A *länsman* was a peasant chosen to assist the administration, see Appendix 1.

⁴⁴⁰ KA 3331: 51v.

⁴⁴¹ Salonen & Haggrén 2016: 108.

⁴⁴² Ramsay 1924: 119.

⁴⁴³ KA 3408: 65v, 71r, 72r; KA 3411: 95v; KA 3414: 80v-r; KA 3420: 71r.

⁴⁴⁴ KA 3420: 114v; KA 3427: 35r.

⁴⁴⁵ KA 3498: 192r.

⁴⁴⁶ Rosendahl & Salonen 2015.

6.2 BUILDINGS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Remains of several buildings, especially their fireplaces, are still visible above ground in Mankby, but only a small number of these have been excavated. However, the excavated buildings likely cover most of the period when the site was used, as the oldest remains connected to the medieval settlement at the site date to the turn of the 13th century, and the youngest excavated building is a barn dating to the period when the royal demesne was located in the area.⁴⁴⁷ In addition to building remains, other medieval structures have also been studied in Mankby. These include a number of fragmentary structures which may originate from buildings or cellars, pits which have been interpreted as medieval graves, and layers connected to medieval fields.

Earliest settlement

The oldest buildings excavated on the site were located in the south-western part of the village plot. They belonged to three sequential buildings, all of which were poorly preserved (Fig. 6.4). Only the timber-framed stone hearths (Fig. 6.5) belonging to the two oldest structures (*building* 27 and 28) had survived, although some of the postholes located close by may have been connected to the hearths. In the older *building* 27, a thin cultural layer connected to the hearth was found, but no layers from the following phase and *building* 28 had survived. Still, both hearths have been interpreted to have belonged to dwelling houses. Based on radiocarbon analysis, the older hearth was dated to the turn of the 13th century,

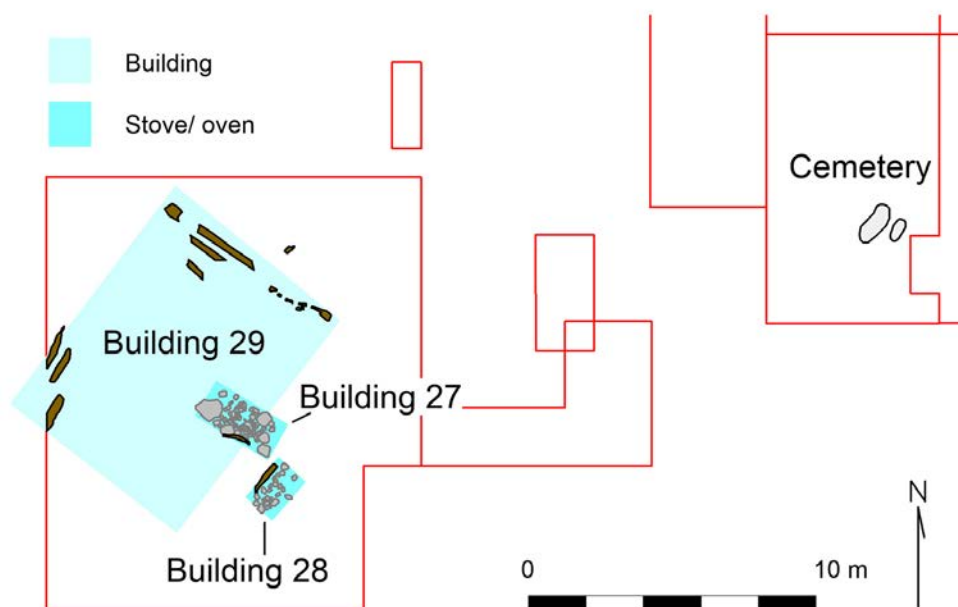


Fig. 6.4 Buildings and graves dating to the 13th century. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

⁴⁴⁷ Rosendahl & Salonen 2015; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 78–81. For details of the buildings, see Appendix 4.



Fig. 6.5 The hearth of the building 27. Photo Georg Haggrén.

and the younger to the first half of the 13th century.⁴⁴⁸ The close dates suggest that the older hearth was used for a short period of time before being replaced.

A younger building (*building 29*) was located on top of the two hearths. This building was dated to the end of the 13th century,⁴⁴⁹ and it was better preserved than the two older buildings. Based on the remains of burned timbers laid on cornerstones, a 6.5-metre long and 5.5-metre wide

room could be reconstructed. There was no fireplace in the room, but a pit filled with sand located in the middle of it may have been the remains of a dismantled fireplace. Some additional timber remains were found south of the room, and these were interpreted as a second room belonging to the same house, damaged badly by a later cellar. Remains of a destroyed fireplace were found close to the north-western corner of the southern room. As the second room has not been dated, it is unclear if the two rooms really were contemporaneous.⁴⁵⁰

In addition to the buildings discussed above, three possible grave pits dating to the earliest settlement phase were identified during the field work. The pits were located south-east of the early medieval buildings, and their identification as graves was primarily based on their size and orientation.⁴⁵¹ No human bones or traces of coffins were found in the pits, but this is typical for prehistorical and medieval inhumation graves in Finland, as organic material is often poorly preserved in the Finnish soil.⁴⁵² It is possible that the pits were the remains of a village cemetery, which was used during an early settlement phase. A charred grain from the fill of one of the pits was dated to 1226–1289 AD,⁴⁵³ suggesting that the pits were contemporary with the earliest buildings at the site. Still, as no bone remains were found, the interpretation of the pits remains uncertain.⁴⁵⁴ During the 13th and early 14th century, some of the village fields were located just east of the possible cemetery, where layers connected to a fossil field were found during the excavations.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁴⁸ Hela-3542, Hela-3543; Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 79–81. See Appendix 5 for details of the radiocarbon dates.

⁴⁴⁹ Hela-3544, Hela-3545.

⁴⁵⁰ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 78–81.

⁴⁵¹ Haggrén et al. 2010a: 17.

⁴⁵² See, e.g., Salonen 2017.

⁴⁵³ Hela-2608.

⁴⁵⁴ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 81–82; Hela-3540; Hela-3541; Hela-3542; Hela-3543.

⁴⁵⁵ Lempiäinen-Avci et al. 2016; Hela-2610, Hela-2611, Hela-2612, Poz-70138.

Building remains from the 14th and 15th centuries

A two-roomed cottage (Fi. *paritupa*, Sw. *parstuga*), *building 23*, was later built on top of the oldest building remains (Fig. 6.6, Fig. 6.7). The cottage, dated to the 14th and 15th centuries, consisted of three rooms lined from south to north and a stone-walled cellar on the south-west side of the building. The two rooms at the ends were heated, leaving an unheated room in between them. The unheated room was interpreted as a passage or entrance hall between two dwelling rooms. Both the northern and southern room had an oven in the corner next to the entrance hall, but the oven in the southern room had been demolished. As only the foundations of the eastern and southern walls were well preserved, it is difficult to estimate the size of the building. However, each of the three rooms has been estimated to have been approximately 20 m² in size, the middle room possibly being a few square metres larger than the other two. Together, this would add up to 60 m², which is unusually big for medieval rural buildings in Finland. The stone-walled cellar connected to the two-roomed cottage is also an uncommon find in connection to medieval rural buildings in Finland.

The find material connected to the two-roomed cottage was rich, and the objects contained a unique strap end with the *lion rampant* motif. Other personal objects were found from inside or around the two-roomed cottage as well. In addition, the find material included pieces belonging to several glass beakers, some stoneware vessels, and table knife fragments. All these suggest that the two-roomed cottage was used by a wealthy person and food and drink were served in the building. Most of the low-fired earthenware ceramics from Mankby were found around the two-roomed cottage, and it is possible that one of the rooms was also used for cooking. The shards may also be connected to the older buildings located on the same place.

Besides the two-roomed cottage, no other building remains from the 14th or early 15th century have been identified in Mankby. However, some postholes and one or two hearths

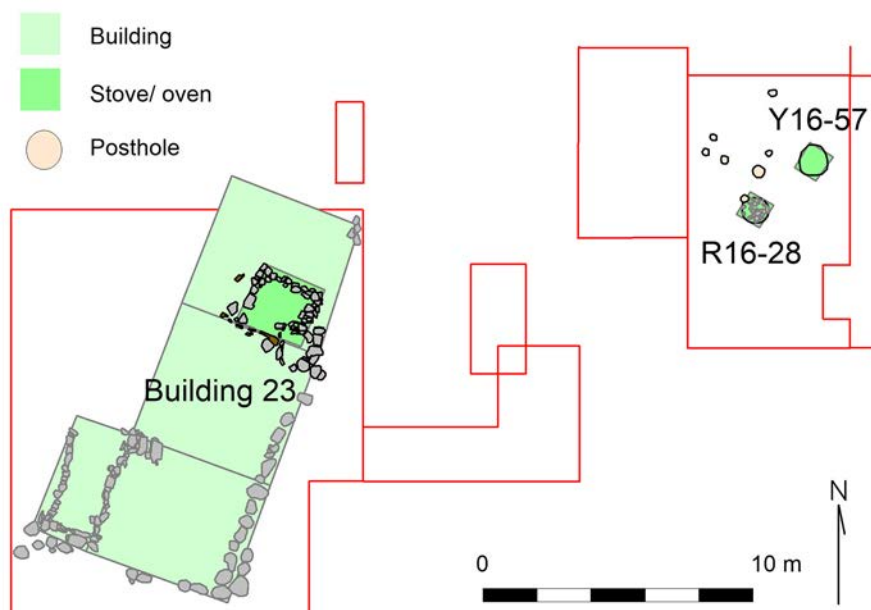


Fig. 6.6 The 14th century building remains. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

Fig. 6.7 Building 23, a two-roomed cottage. The large oven foundation on the right side of the building belongs to a post-medieval drying barn. Photo Georg Haggrén.



were found just north-west of the possible graves in the central part of the village plot.⁴⁵⁶ One of the hearths was dated to the 14th century,⁴⁵⁷ meaning that it was likely used in the same period as the two-roomed cottage. Some charred rye and barley seeds were found in connection to the structures.⁴⁵⁸ Otherwise the find material consists of quartz and Early Metal Period ceramics originating from the prehistoric cultural layers through which the medieval structures had been dug. It is possible that the structures were connected to a lightly founded building, probably a kitchen or a drying barn based on the grains.

The village landscape in Mankby changed around the same time when the two-roomed cottage was built. The old field in the eastern part of the plot was left out of use during the second half of the 14th century, and after this buildings were founded on the formerly cultivated area.⁴⁵⁹ The old village cemetery seems to have been abandoned by this time as well.⁴⁶⁰

Late medieval settlement

Only one late medieval building was studied extensively in the eastern part of the excavated area. This structure (*building 11*) was a single-room cottage dating to the 15th and 16th centuries (Fig. 6.8). The relatively well-preserved building had an oven in the north-west corner, stone foundations for at least three of the walls, and a floor founded on a layer of clay. Based on the wall foundations, it has been suggested that there was a dirt bank structure against the northern wall, but this interpretation is uncertain as no layers clearly belonging to a dirt bank were discovered. The building has been interpreted as a dwelling house.⁴⁶¹

Besides the medieval dwelling houses, a drying barn (*building 13*) dating from the 16th to 18th century was excavated in Mankby. The barn was connected to the early modern royal demesne founded in the former village area in the middle of the 16th century. The barn, which is the only clearly post-medieval building documented at the site, was built on

⁴⁵⁶ Haggrén et al. 2012: 27–28.

⁴⁵⁷ Poz-70141; Poz-70142.

⁴⁵⁸ Lempiäinen-Avci in Haggrén et al. 2012.

⁴⁵⁹ Lempiäinen-Avci et al. 2016: 131.

⁴⁶⁰ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2016b: 82.

⁴⁶¹ Knuutinen 2016: 114–118.

top of the earlier medieval structures (*buildings 23, 27, 28, and 29*), and it had disturbed the medieval layers.⁴⁶²

Although only a small number of buildings have been extensively excavated in Mankby, it is possible to study the layout of the village based on the structures that are visible above the ground. Although it is difficult to date the buildings that have not been excavated, the large oven structures visible aboveground suggest that they are late medieval and connected to the last settlement phase of the village. Most of the late medieval buildings are concentrated in the central part of the old village plot, north of an old road, but there are also some buildings further to the north-east and south-west. The roads leading to the village met at the centre of the old plot, with a crossroad just north of *building 11*. This crossroads has been interpreted as the village common, which acted as a meeting place for the villagers.⁴⁶³

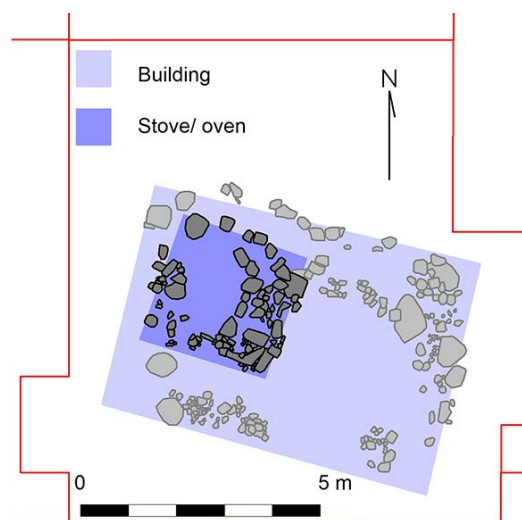


Fig 6.8 Late medieval building 11. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

6.3 MATERIAL CULTURE

As Mankby was deserted already in the mid-16th century, and the plot was never resettled, most of the finds from the site are related to the medieval and early modern village settlement (Table 6.1). Therefore, they give a good picture of the material culture of the village, although only a small part of the village plot has been excavated. Elina Terävä has thoroughly discussed the finds from Mankby⁴⁶⁴ and many of the interpretations in this chapter are based on her work, although the object categories used by her differ somewhat. Most types of objects have been found quite evenly distributed around the excavated areas in Mankby, making it difficult to identify different activity areas based on them.

Object group	No
Building and living	1562
Table culture and cooking	405
Personal objects and clothing	79
Handicrafts	155
Agriculture	7
Hunting and Fishing	6
Horses and riding equipment	374
Trade	12
Religion and folkbeliefs	
Military	4
Leisure	7

Table 6.1 Finds related to different object categories in Mankby. No – Number of fragments.

⁴⁶² Rosendahl & Salonen 2015.

⁴⁶³ Rosendahl 2008b: 94.

⁴⁶⁴ Terävä 2016.

Building and living

The most typical finds connected to building and living in Mankby are nails, iron rods, plates, and other small iron fragments. There are also flint flakes and a large number of quartz flakes (Table 6.2) in the material. The last mentioned may be connected to the Stone Age or Early Metal Period settlement at the site, although some flakes may originate from medieval fire-striking.⁴⁶⁵ Objects connected to living include two padlocks and altogether seven keys (some for barrel padlocks and some that were turned in the lock), one candlestick, and a strike-a-light steel. Some window glass was also among the find material, showing that there were likely at least some glass windows in the village by the mid-16th century.⁴⁶⁶

Building and living	No
Candlestick	1
Chain	1
Clasp	2
Flint	359
Key	7
Links or rings	3
Nails	488
Padlock	2
Plate	112
Quartz	499
Rivet	37
Rod	83
Strike-a-light steel	1
U-shaped staple	4
Window glass	52
Timber dog	1

Table 6.2 Finds related to building and living in Mankby.

Table culture and cooking

Ceramics

Most of the ceramics found in Mankby, almost 80% of the shards, belong to redware vessels (Table 6.3). The shards originate mainly from tripod pipkins and date to the 15th and 16th centuries. The most unique pieces among the material are a pipkin with finger-moulded decorations on the rim⁴⁶⁷ and a handle with hole decorations resembling a small flute.⁴⁶⁸ There are also some shards originating from plates or bowls, some with bolus decoration, likely connected to the post-medieval use of the site. The form and chemical composition of the redware vessels suggest that they originate from different areas, but the exact areas where they were manufactured have not been traced yet.⁴⁶⁹ Most redware shards were found in the central area of the village and in connection to the late medieval *building 11* (Fig. 6.9).

Table culture and cooking	No
Copper alloy cauldron	4
Earthenware	53
Glass beaker	24
Redware	267
Stoneware	20
Table knife	33
Whiteware	4

Table 6.3 Finds related to table culture and cooking in Mankby.

The material includes a number of shards originating from low-fired earthenware vessels. Over half of these shards may come from a single highly profiled vessel decorated with wavy and straight lines, or possibly from a few similar vessels (Fig. 6.10).⁴⁷⁰ The type resembles ceramics found in Estonia, especially the vessels dating from the 11th to the 14th centu-

⁴⁶⁵ Terävä 2016: 143–144.

⁴⁶⁶ Terävä 2016: 140–144.

⁴⁶⁷ KM 2009032: 575; KM 2011014: 189, 204.

⁴⁶⁸ KM 2009032: 240.

⁴⁶⁹ Holmqvist et al. 2014: 97–98; 2020.

⁴⁷⁰ E.g. KM KM2010058: 489, 502, 503, 504; Terävä 2016: 152–153.

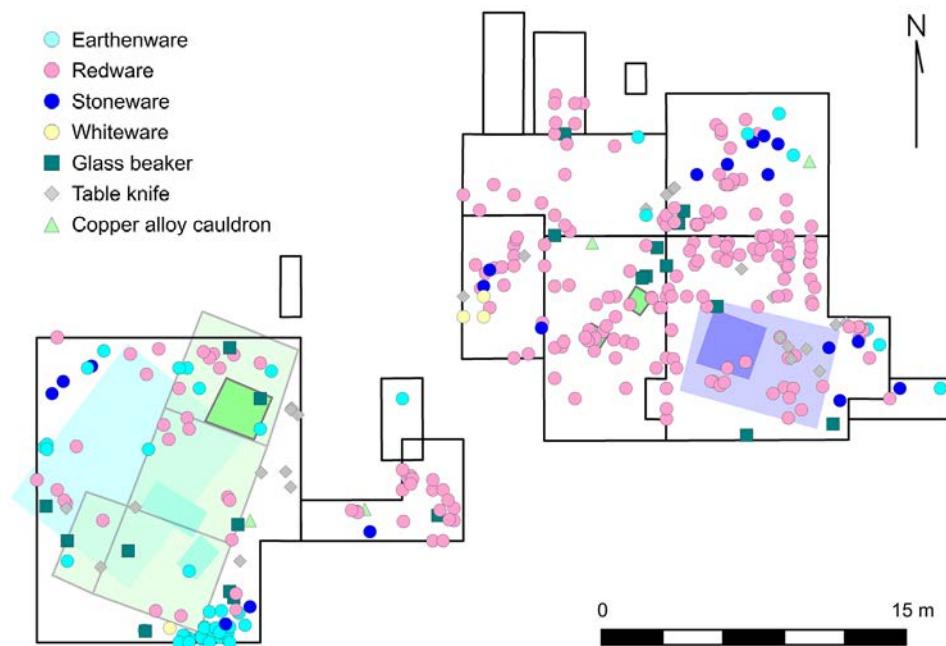


Fig 6.9 Distribution of finds related to table culture and cooking in Mankby. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

ries.⁴⁷¹ Some of the other shards originate from vessels with thick rim parts, some of them slightly profiled, and the material includes feet belonging to a low-fired tripods.⁴⁷² Elina Terävä has suggested that some of these vessels may be locally manufactured.⁴⁷³ The low-fired earthenware vessels were mainly found in connection to the oldest structures at the south-western part of the site.

Stoneware has also been found from Mankby. Most of the shards belong to vessels made in Siegburg and, according to Terävä, they originate from a minimum of six vessels manufactured between the mid-14th and mid-16th century.⁴⁷⁴ In addition, two shards belonging to a vessel or vessels made in Rhineland were found, but overall the stoneware material from Mankby can be characterised as quite one-sided.⁴⁷⁵ Besides the more common types of ceramics, four shards⁴⁷⁶ likely originating from a single whiteware vessel have been found in Mankby.



Fig 6.10 A shard of a low-fired earthenware vessel decorated with wavy lines. KM 2010058: 501. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

⁴⁷¹ Tvauri 2000: 98–105.

⁴⁷² KM 2009032: 321.

⁴⁷³ Terävä 2016: 152.

⁴⁷⁴ Terävä 2016: 153–154.

⁴⁷⁵ KM 2008044: 20, 396; Terävä 2016: 153–154.

⁴⁷⁶ KM 2009032: 213, 214, 215, 644.

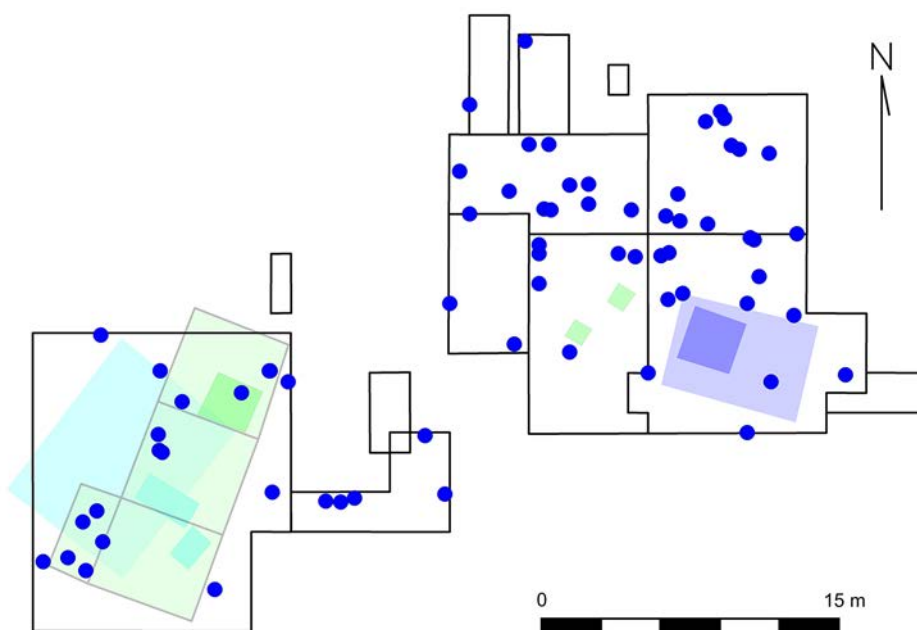


Fig 6.11 Distribution of finds related to personal objects and clothing in Mankby. Map Tuuli Heinen.

Other tableware

There are several fragments of medieval glass beakers from Mankby. According to Georg Haggrén and Elina Terävä, these originate from at least 15 different vessels.⁴⁷⁷ Most of the shards belong to colourless vessels representing the Bohemian tradition, but there are also two decorated shards among the finds, one decorated with blue glass thread and one with optical decoration.⁴⁷⁸ The vessels date from the 14th to the 16th century, and shards have been found around the plot. Apparently, glass vessels became relatively common in Mankby quite early on.⁴⁷⁹

Besides ceramics and glass vessels, fragments of bronze cauldrons have been found from Mankby.⁴⁸⁰ In addition, table knives were commonly used in Mankby. The found fragments represent possibly 24 knives altogether.⁴⁸¹ Dating to the late 15th and 16th centuries, these knives compose a varied group, with different forms and decorations. Most of the table knives from Mankby have a flat scale tang, and on two of the knives, the organic plates that covered the shafts have survived. Some of the knives have been decorated with bronze rivets and fittings, which may have been placed at the end of the tang or on its side. At least some of the knives were imported objects.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Haggrén & Terävä 2013: 43–44; Terävä 2016: 155.

⁴⁷⁸ KM 2011014: 164; KM 39160: 370.

⁴⁷⁹ Haggrén & Terävä 2013; Terävä 2016: 155.

⁴⁸⁰ KM 2009032: 336; KM 2010058: 52, 117.

⁴⁸¹ Terävä 2016: 149–150.

⁴⁸² Haggrén et al. 2011b; Terävä 2016: 149–150.

Personal objects and clothing

A large number of personal objects and objects connected to clothing have been found from Mankby, and some of these are quite exceptional (Fig 6.11; Table 6.4). There are several pieces of decorated accessories among the material. These include a ring brooch⁴⁸³ likely dating to the 14th century with the inscription 'ANRVE M - -'. Brooches with similar text have been found in Denmark, and similar type of objects with different texts have been found in Turku and in two cemeteries in Karelia, Eastern Finland.⁴⁸⁴ The finds also include two tin or lead alloy pendants, both featuring a cross in a circular frame.⁴⁸⁵ These were used either by humans or as harness pendants in horse equipment.⁴⁸⁶

There are several buckles and strap ends in the find material. The most unique of these finds is a 14th-century enamelled strap end decorated with three coats of arms with a *lion rampant* motif on blue ground (Fig 6.12).⁴⁸⁷ As the motif on the strap end resembles the coat of arms of the Folkunga family, Anna-Maria Salonen and Georg Haggrén have suggested that the strap end might have been used to show that the person wearing it was a supporter of the Folkunga family, the royal family in Sweden from 1250 to 1364.⁴⁸⁸

The finds also include other decorated strap ends⁴⁸⁹ and a leather strap decorated with small copper alloy rivets.⁴⁹⁰ It has been discussed if one of the decorated fittings could be a book clasp,⁴⁹¹ but it is more likely another example of late medieval or early modern decorated belt buckles.⁴⁹² Other personal objects from Mankby include a number of buckles, some glass beads, and two bronze finger rings. One of the rings⁴⁹³ has a rectangular base where a stone or

Personal objects and clothing	No
Amber bead	1
Annular brooch	3
Bone bead	1
Bone button	1
Circular buckle	4
Copper alloy dress fastener	6
Copper alloy fittings	18
Pendant	2
Decorated leather strap	1
D-shaped buckle	4
Finger ring	2
Glass bead	2
Iron mount	9
Iron pin	1
Lead seal?	7
Oval-shaped buckle	2
Pin from a buckle	3
Rectangular buckle	3
Strap end	8
Copper alloy buckle	1

Table 6.4 Finds related to personal objects and clothing in Mankby.



Fig 6.12 A decorated strap end with lion rampant motif. Photo Elina Terävä.

⁴⁸³ KM 2009032: 444.

⁴⁸⁴ Immonen 2009a: 261; Terävä 2016: 158.

⁴⁸⁵ KM 2007053: 81; KM 2008044: 301.

⁴⁸⁶ Terävä 2016: 158.

⁴⁸⁷ KM 2011014: 1, 2.

⁴⁸⁸ Salonen & Haggrén 2016: 109–110.

⁴⁸⁹ KM 2009032: 495, 574; KM 39465:1.

⁴⁹⁰ KM 2009032: 4.

⁴⁹¹ Terävä 2016: 156–157.

⁴⁹² Harjula pers. comm. 27.1.2020; see Willemsen & Ernst 2012, fig. 132.

⁴⁹³ KM 2008044: 537.

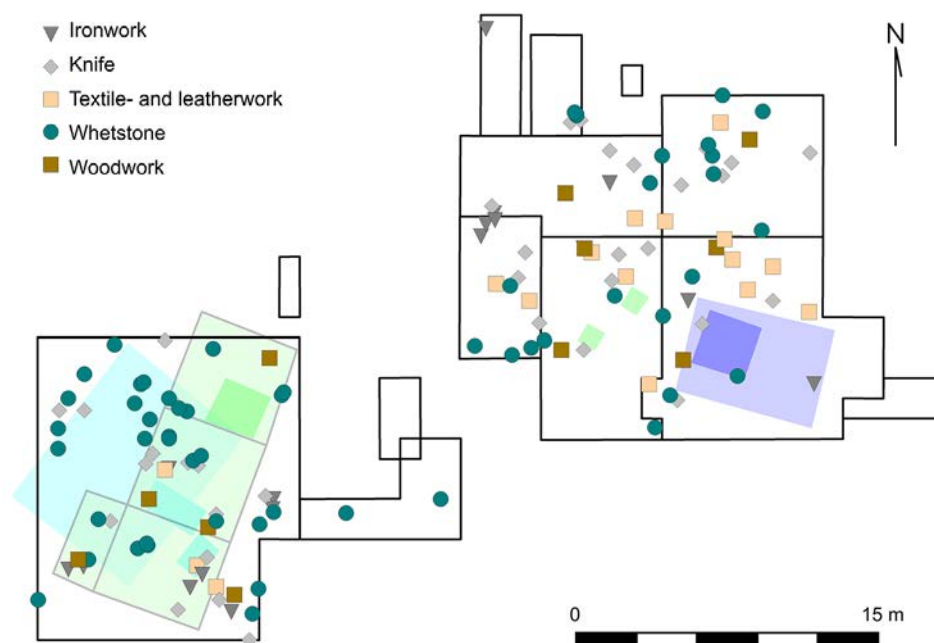


Fig 6.13 Distribution of finds related to handicrafts in Mankby. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

a piece of glass was probably fitted. Most of the decorative personal objects date from the 14th to the 16th century, but some may be even older.⁴⁹⁴ In addition, there are some lead fragments which may originate from cloth seals, but none of these have been definitively identified, and therefore their origins and dating remain open.⁴⁹⁵

Handicrafts

In Mankby, whetstones form the largest group of finds connected to handicrafts (Fig 6.13; Table 6.5). The finds also include a large number of knives with tangs, fragments of blades, awls, thimbles, and needles, among them one bone needle.⁴⁹⁶ The material contains some fragments possibly originating from drills used for woodwork, but all in all, tools are rare in the material. The largest find group connected to handicrafts in Mankby was slag, and altogether over 54 kilograms of it was found during the excavations. However, a large part of the total amount consisted of burnt clay that had morphed into a slag-like substance. The rest of the slag comprised residues

Handicrafts	No
Auger	4
Awl	9
Axe	2
Bone needle	1
Iron bar	7
Knife	36
Knife chape	1
Leftover piece from ironworking	18
Needle	7
Thimble	2
Tool with a blade	4
Wedge	1
Whetstone	62
Spokeshave	1

Table 6.5 Finds related to handicrafts in Mankby.

⁴⁹⁴ Terävä 2016: 155–158.

⁴⁹⁵ Terävä 2016: 148.

⁴⁹⁶ Terävä 2016: 143–144.

from ironworking. There are also other finds that suggest blacksmithing activities in the village. Elina Terävä has identified eight iron bars, some iron objects that seem to be unfinished, and some fragments of iron that may be leftovers from ironworking.⁴⁹⁷

Livelihoods

Some finds from Mankby are related to fishing or hunting (Table 6.6). A fishing hook has been identified among the finds,⁴⁹⁸ and based on osteological analyses, different types of fish were consumed in the village throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁹⁹ The written documents from the second half of the 16th century show that salted fish was part of the payment that Mats Sigfredsson, the only peasant in the village at this point, received for taking cargo to Tallinn and Narva.⁵⁰⁰ This shows that at least part of the fish consumed at the farm was not caught by the local inhabitants themselves. However, Hanna Kivikero has noted that the anatomical distribution of fish bones suggests that at least some of the fish were rather fished locally rather than bought.⁵⁰¹ It is likely that the villagers consumed both fish they had caught themselves and fish brought from elsewhere.

Based on the found objects and bone material, hunting was not an important livelihood for the inhabitants of Mankby. There are only some bone fragments from hunted species like hare, beaver, or seal.⁵⁰² Altogether five arrowheads have been found in Mankby. Elina Terävä has identified four of them⁵⁰³ to be of a slender type likely used for hunting with a hand bow; according to her, the remaining one⁵⁰⁴ represents a *Dalarna* type and might have been used for either hunting or fighting.⁵⁰⁵

There are some finds from Mankby that can be connected to agriculture (Table 6.7). These contain a spade iron⁵⁰⁶ and fragments of at least five sickle blades.⁵⁰⁷ The macrofossil samples have yielded a large number of grains, most of them rye with a smaller amount of barley.⁵⁰⁸ Tithe records from the mid-16th century show that both rye and barley as well as

Hunting and fishing	No
Arrowhead	5
Fishing hook	1

Table 6.6 Finds related to hunting and fishing in Mankby.

Agriculture	No
Shears	1
Sickle blade	5
Spade iron	1

Table 6.7 Finds related to agriculture in Mankby.

⁴⁹⁷ Terävä 2016: 146–147.

⁴⁹⁸ KM 2010058: 153; Terävä 2016: 146.

⁴⁹⁹ Kivikero 2016.

⁵⁰⁰ E.g. KA 3408: 71r; KA 3411: 95v.

⁵⁰¹ Kivikero 2016: 171.

⁵⁰² Kivikero 2016.

⁵⁰³ KM 2010058: 458; KM 2011014: 97; KM 39160: 282, 311.

⁵⁰⁴ KM 2009032: 587.

⁵⁰⁵ Terävä 2016: 146.

⁵⁰⁶ KM 39465: 4.

⁵⁰⁷ KM 2002044: 125, 126, 231; KM 2009032: 519; KM 2010058: 449; Terävä 2016: 145–146.

⁵⁰⁸ Lempiäinen-Avci 2016.

oats were cultivated in the village at this point.⁵⁰⁹ The small fossil field found on the eastern part of the village plot offers additional information about the development of agriculture in Mankby, and it shows well how the agricultural landscape in the villages could change during the Middle Ages.⁵¹⁰

As Mankby was deserted already in the 1550s, there is little available information about the amount of livestock kept in the village. Osteological analyses have shown that cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs were consumed in the village, and there are also some chicken bones in the material.⁵¹¹ The archaeological material contains a large number of finds, such as horseshoe nails, for both summer and winter use, horseshoes, and spurs (Table 6.8). Elina Terävä has also identified some more decorative finds connected to horses, such as six harness pendants.⁵¹² In 1571, the last peasant of Mankby, Vincentius Jacobsson, had a total of 15 cows and heifers, eight sheep, two pigs, and likely two horses.⁵¹³ It seems that same species of animals were kept in the village in both the medieval and early modern periods, although it is not possible to estimate their total number in the Middle Ages.

Horses and riding equipment	No
Horseshoe	5
Horseshoe nail	300
Horseshoe nail for winter	58
Ice shoe	3
Spur fragment	8

Table 6.8 Finds related to horses and riding in Mankby.

Other finds

Altogether ten medieval or early modern coins, a possible fragment of an additional one, and a jetton minted in Nuremberg in the 16th century have been found from Mankby. The oldest of the coins is dated between 1426 and 1483, and the youngest was minted in 1573 (Table 6.9).⁵¹⁴ The number of coins is exceptionally large compared to most rural sites.⁵¹⁵ There is also a possible lead weight among the finds from Mankby,⁵¹⁶ and, as noted above, the finds include a number of imported objects. All in all, it seems that although there is little written information about the villagers being involved in trade, it was an important source of wealth and goods for them. In addition, the find material includes some fragments of clay pipes, but these are connected to later activities at the site. The same is likely true for the three lead bullets and a cannonball found from Mankby.

Trade and economy	No
Coins	11
Jettons	1

Table 6.9 Finds related to trade and economy in Mankby.

⁵⁰⁹ KA 2940: 66r; KA 3003: 30v; KA 3522: 162r–163v.

⁵¹⁰ Lempiäinen-Avci et al. 2016.

⁵¹¹ Kivikero 2016: 168–170.

⁵¹² E.g. KM2008044: 51, 216; Terävä 2016: 159.

⁵¹³ KA 3324: 98r.

⁵¹⁴ KM 2008044, 2009038, 2010041, 2011046 Money cabinet/ National Museum; Haggrén et al. 2010a: 34; Terävä 2016: 148–149; Ehrnsten 2019: 173–174, 336.

⁵¹⁵ See Ehrnsten 2019: 231–234.

⁵¹⁶ KM 2008044:2; Terävä 2016: 148.

6.4 MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SETTLEMENT IN MANKBY – A SUMMARY

The medieval settlement in Mankby was established by the early 13th century, when the first buildings were erected in the south-western part of the village plot. The village fields were located east of these buildings, and a small cemetery seems to have been situated between the built area and the fields. As only a small part of the village has been excavated, it is unclear if there were several farmsteads at the village during this time.

Around the mid-14th century, the village landscape changed notably. A two-roomed cottage with a stone cellar was built on the western side of the village at a place where there had previously been smaller buildings. At the same time, the old fields in the eastern part of the village plot were left out of use, and buildings were later founded in the same place. The small cemetery located just west of the fields seems to have been abandoned by the mid-14th century as well, possibly around the same time that the village landscape went through other changes.

During the Late Middle Ages, there were several farmsteads on the plot based on the excavated buildings and surveyed structures. Based on the tax records, there were eight farms in the village during the Late Middle Ages, although by the 1540s two of the farms had fallen into the hands of peasants living outside the village. In 1556, the village was deserted when a royal demesne was founded in the area. Only one of the peasants, Vincentius Jacobsson, was allowed to stay in the area, but his farmstead was relocated outside the old plot. The peasant settlement disappeared from the old plot for good, and a drying barn used by the demesne was founded at the site during the early modern period.

7 KÖKLAX – THE HOME OF A LÄNSMAN

Köklax is located in south-western Espoo on the banks of the river Espoonjoki, close to the head of Espoonlahti bay and just 1.5 kilometres east of Mankby. Modern buildings cover most of the former village area, with small forests and parks in between. The name Köklax is based on the Finnish place name *Kauk(a)laksi*, referring to the long and narrow sea bay that formerly stretched into the Espoonjoki river valley. Some of the fields and meadows in the area also have originally Finnish names.⁵¹⁷ The finds from Köklax include an Iron Age pendant, and Late Iron Age objects have also been found in the area of Esboby, just two kilometres north of Köklax.⁵¹⁸ Together with the place names, these finds suggest that there was Finnish-speaking settlement in the area where the village was founded.

The oldest map depicting Köklax dates to 1735.⁵¹⁹ The map shows the locations for five of the village's eight farms. These were scattered on two sides of the Espoonjoki around the village fields. Three of the farms – Saka, Bisa, and Lillbass – were located north of the river and two – Juus and Storbass – south of it. The northern of these plots has been suggested to be the original village plot of Köklax.⁵²⁰ On the map from 1758–1763 (Fig. 7.1),⁵²¹ three farms were still located on the old northern plot. The farms Bisa and Gästers were located west of the oldest plot in 1763; in addition, the text *Juustomt* west of the old plot shows that the farm Juus was also located west of the old plot before it was moved south of the river. The farms were clearly moved around within the village area in the 18th century, and the same might have happened already during the previous centuries.

The most extensive archaeological excavations in Köklax have been done on the presumably oldest northern plot of the village. Rescue excavations were carried out at the site in 2002 and 2003 for 2.5 months altogether, and an area of approximately 620 m² was excavated (Fig. 7.2).⁵²² Remains of several buildings dating from the 13th to the 20th century



Fig. 7.1 A map from 1758–1763 shows the locations of the farms in Köklax and neighbouring villages. The excavated plot circled in red. National Archives of Finland.

⁵¹⁷ Kepsu 2010: 72–75.

⁵¹⁸ Wessman 2016: 22–23.

⁵¹⁹ Giöker 1735.

⁵²⁰ Lindholm 1999: 15; Haggrén et al. 2004: 7; Kepsu 2010: 74.

⁵²¹ Bonej & Zitting 1758–1763.

⁵²² Haggrén & Hakanpää 2003; Haggrén et al. 2004.

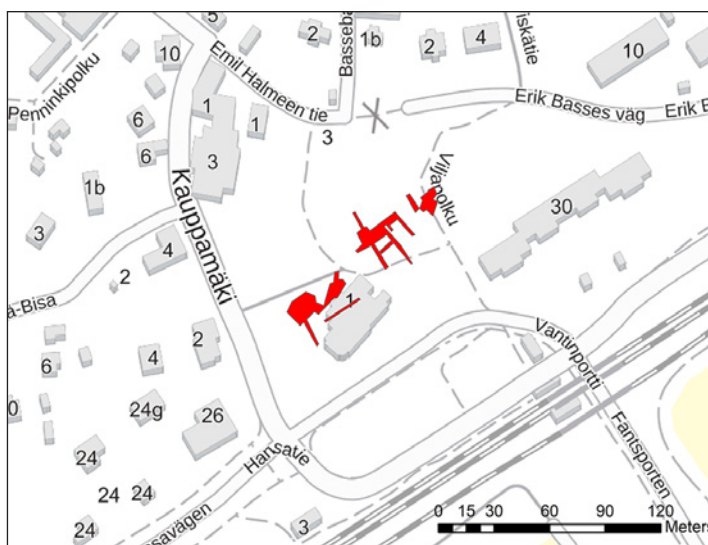


Fig. 7.2 Excavated areas in Köklax. A chapel has been built on the area after the excavations. Map Tuuli Heinen, background map National Land Survey of Finland.

were found during the excavations. In addition, a small medieval graveyard was found on the eastern part of the village plot. Besides the northern plot, small-scale

test excavations have been done in other parts of the village, but no clear traces of settlement dating further back than the 18th century have been found.⁵²³

7.1 THE VILLAGE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Historically, Köklax belonged to both the administrative and the church parish of Espoo. The village seems to have had a central role in the parish during the Middle Ages, as it has given names to both a secular and an ecclesiastical administrative area in Espoo: one of the administrative *bols*,⁵²⁴ areas for levying secular taxes, was *Köklax bol*, and one of the administrative *fjärdings* of the church parish was *Köklax fjärding*.⁵²⁵ The name Köklax referring to the administrative *bol* was first mentioned in a tax roll in 1451,⁵²⁶ and the first time the name was used to refer to the village itself was in 1519, when Köklax (*Kockklases*) was mentioned in the account books of Helmich Ficke.⁵²⁷

Already before this, the name Basse referring to persons living on the Bass farm in Köklax was mentioned in several documents. Peder Basse was one of the witnesses in a letter of judgement in 1472 and in a document treating a land transaction in 1492.⁵²⁸ The second document also mentions Lass Jönsson *i Basans*, likely referring to the Bass farm as well. During the early modern period, there were farms called Lillbass and Storbass in the village, suggesting that a farm called Bass had been divided at some point. This may have happened already during the Middle Ages, as there were two persons referred to with the person or place name Bass/Basans in the document from 1492.⁵²⁹ The farm name *Saka* likely has a

⁵²³ Hakanpää 2005a; Hämäläinen 2007; Koivisto & Suhonen 2009.

⁵²⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁵²⁵ Ramsay 1924: 31–38.

⁵²⁶ DF 2898.

⁵²⁷ TLA Af 17: 154.

⁵²⁸ DF 3531; DF 4454.

⁵²⁹ Kepsu 2010: 72–73.

medieval origin as well. A document dating to 1556 refers to a villager's grandfather, *Saka Jöns*, who likely lived in the late 15th or early 16th century.⁵³⁰

The early 16th-century merchants' accounts preserved in Tallinn show that the Bass farm, perhaps more accurately Lillbass, was involved in the peasant trade to Tallinn.⁵³¹ Erik Basse was first mentioned in Ficke's accounts in 1515, when Ficke gave him some money to take to Anders Guse in Träskby (*Treschebüw*), just west of Köklax.⁵³² Erik and Anders may have been business partners already at this point, as in 1517 Ficke mentions them owning a ship together.⁵³³ In 1521, Erik had to guarantee Anders' debt, which amounted to a staggering 60.5 marks,⁵³⁴ and although the debt was eventually settled, Anders and Erik do not seem to have continued their partnership after this.⁵³⁵ Erik Basse is mentioned in Ficke's accounts twice in the late 1520s⁵³⁶ and again in 1540, when Ficke refers to him as *olde lensman*, or old *länsman*.⁵³⁷ Apparently Erik had held the position of *länsman* in the first half of the 16th century, indicating that he was a central figure in Espoo. It seems that besides Helmich Ficke, Erik had other contacts among the Tallinn merchants as well, as he was fined for sailing to Tallinn against the Crown's prohibition in 1546, four years after Ficke's death.⁵³⁸ This might explain why he is not mentioned more often in Ficke's accounts even though he was clearly involved in trade and even owned at least a half of a ship.

Despite Erik Basse's trading activities and his position as a *länsman*, he did not stand out from the other inhabitants of Köklax in the first cadastral record in 1541. At this point, there were nine farms in the village paying altogether 6 15/16 marks in taxes.⁵³⁹ One of the farms listed in Köklax in 1541 was sometimes marked as a separate village in the tax records, but later normally listed among the farms in Köklax. This farm has several names in the 16th-century sources, but most often it is referred to as *Skogbisa*, *Skogby*, or *Rasi*. The farm was located on the outskirts of the village, and it was likely founded by someone originating from the farm *Bisa* in Köklax.⁵⁴⁰ In 1541, Erik Basse was responsible for 5/8 of a tax mark, while three of the other peasants paid more, demonstrating how the peasants involved in trade or holding trusted positions did not necessarily own the largest amount of land.

Quite a lot is known about the farms in Köklax. The village was never deserted, and therefore the later documents and maps tell much about the early modern names and locations of the farms. However, even though there are more sources, it is difficult to connect them to the excavated buildings or sometimes even to the people named in the 16th-century sources, as it is challenging to follow the changes that happened in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The farms were not always passed from father to son. In 1607, for example, a widow called Margaret decided to share the Skogbisa farm between her son and son-in-law.⁵⁴¹ After this, the son-in-law, Hans Jacobsson, was responsible for paying the taxes, while the son,

⁵³⁰ KA 215k: 95r–96v.

⁵³¹ Kerkkonen 1959: 119–122.

⁵³² TLA A.f. 22: 27v.

⁵³³ TLA A.f. 22: 30v.

⁵³⁴ TLA A.f. 17: 157.

⁵³⁵ Kerkkonen 1959: 119–120.

⁵³⁶ TLA A. f. 17: 62, 147.

⁵³⁷ TLA A. f. 17: 167.

⁵³⁸ KA 2952: 63r; Mickwitz 1938: 17.

⁵³⁹ KA 2924: 93.

⁵⁴⁰ Kepsu 2010: 73–74.

⁵⁴¹ RA Raseborgs län 1606–1608, Parish of Espoo 22.7.1607.

Mats Thomasson, disappeared from the sources. Cases like this sometimes make it challenging to follow the farms based on the names of the peasants. Still, with some caution it is possible to follow the eight farms known from the 17th- and 18th-century sources from the 1540s onwards. The ninth farm was deserted before its name appeared in the historical sources.

Peasant	Property in marks (mk) and öre
Matz Jacobsson	68 mk 1 öre
Henrich Jonsson	66 mk 7 öre
Anders Jonsson	54 mk 5,5 öre
Thåmas Ersson	50 mk 5 öre
Mårthen Erichsson	43 mk 6 öre
Henrich Mårthensson	39 mk 3 öre
Staffan Poualsson	37 mk 1,5 öre
Jacob Staffansson	–

Table 7.1 The value of property of the peasants living in Köklax in 1571.

According to the silver tax register,⁵⁴² in 1571 most of the farms in Köklax, including Skogbisa, were doing all right compared to most farms in Espoo (Table 7.1). There was only one peasant in the village, Jacob Staffansson, who did not have any property listed in the tax roll. Based on other sources, Jacob's farm was able to pay taxes until 1580,⁵⁴³ so he likely had some property in 1571, but for some reason it was released from the silver tax. Four of the other farms had their property valued lower than the median of 48 marks in the parish. Interestingly, the farm owned by Morten Eriksson was among these three. It is likely that his farm was the one later known as Lill-Bass and previously owned by the peasant tradesman and *länsman* Erik Basse in the first half of the century. If the farm had been wealthy during Erik's time, it seems that it was not so any longer.

The remaining four farms were a little wealthier than the median in the parish, but overall the difference between the wealthiest farm paying 68 marks and the poorest farm responsible for 39 marks was quite small compared to the other villages studied in this work. The same is true for the whole administrative *fjärding* of Köklax, where only one peasant in Mulby can be considered quite poor with his property of 22 marks and 7.5 öre, and only one peasant in Kuritsbacka whose property was valued at 98 marks and 6 öre can be considered notably wealthy.

The administrative *fjärding* was the area where the inhabitants of Köklax had most their contacts according to the lists of fines and court records.⁵⁴⁴ During the second half of the 16th century, peasants from Köklax were typically fined for getting into fights with peasants from the neighbouring villages of Espoby, Mulby, and Fantsby, and the contacts shown in the 17th century court records were mostly with nearby villages as well. Still, these sources do not give a complete picture of the contact networks the villagers had. Helmich Ficke's accounts show that in the early 16th century, Erik Basse's contacts extended to Tallinn, and he also did business with several villages, like Härkeby, Kalljärvi, and Kortjärvi in the northern part of his home parish.⁵⁴⁵

The peasants in Köklax held a number of trusted positions, starting with Erik Basse being a *länsman* in the early 16th century. In the 1580s and 1590s, Morten Persson, who likely owned the Stor-Bass farm, acted as a witness for several inventories held at the Espoo

⁵⁴² 3324: 95v.

⁵⁴³ KA 3391: 102v.

⁵⁴⁴ See Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

⁵⁴⁵ Kerkkonen 1959: 95–96.

manor.⁵⁴⁶ He was clearly familiar to the leading persons of the parish, as he was chosen by them to witness the inventories. For several years, he was the only person among the witnesses with no special title, while the others were the vicar of the parish and an innkeeper.

Besides the more exceptional roles that Erik Basse and Morten Persson had, at least four of the peasants from Köklax acted as lay jurors in court.⁵⁴⁷ In some court cases, they also acted as trusted men who had the task to investigate disputes over land. On one occasion in 1636, a certain Mons from Köklax, likely meaning Mons Mortensson, acted as the surveyor chosen by the nobleman Johan Gyldenär when he and the inhabitants of Kockby had a dispute over borders.⁵⁴⁸ Clearly Mons was known to the local nobleman and trusted by him. Several peasants from Köklax also acted as witnesses when registers of land and lists of farms that were unable to pay taxes were drafted in the early 17th century. In some of these lists, like the land survey of 1604, the peasants signed the lists with their own marks.⁵⁴⁹

The tumultuous years in the late 16th century were not an easy time for Köklax. Several of the farms struggled at times. For example in 1586, three of the farms were marked as unable to pay taxes, and one was noted to be deserted (*kallt*).⁵⁵⁰ Sometimes the struggling farms were taken up by a new peasant after being unable to pay taxes for a while, like in 1605 when Sigfred Matsson took up the Saka farm.⁵⁵¹ The misfortunes of the farm did not end after this, and in 1614 Sigfred was granted tax exemptions because the farm had suffered from a fire.⁵⁵² In the end, the farm survived the troubles, but this was not the case for all the farms. Erik Simonsson's farm was shared between the neighbours in 1617, and three years later the farm disappeared from written sources.⁵⁵³ During the early 17th century, one of the farms was enfeoffed to Gustaf Horn,⁵⁵⁴ and the other farms occasionally paid their taxes to the Espoo manor.⁵⁵⁵ Despite the difficulties the farms faced, most of them survived throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and today the former village has been turned into a lively neighbourhood.

7.2 BUILDINGS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The most extensive excavations in Köklax have been done on the old northern village plot. The excavations have mainly focused on the part of the plot where the Juus farm was located in the 18th century, but the plots belonging to the Pellas, Saka, and Lillbas farms were

⁵⁴⁶ KA 3420: 114v; KA 3427: 43v, 49v; KA 3435: 109v; KA 3443: 116v; KA 3449: 126v.

⁵⁴⁷ These peasants were: Thomas Eriksson, 7 times in 1557–1573; Morthen Persson, two times in 1559–1560; Per Staffansson, six times in 1606–1619; Mons Matsson, 24 times in 1612–1644; Mats Persson, once in 1618. KA 3076: 23v, 30v, 32r; KA 3169: 18r; KA 3183: 1v; KA 3335: 143r, 140r; KA 3341: 89r, 92r; KA 3548: 14v, 15; KA 3554: 3v; KA 3561: 30v; KA 3592: 3v; KA 3600: 52v, 53v, 54v; Raasepori I KO a:1: 192v; I KO a:2: 22r, 57v, 73, 85v, 94r, 117v, 147r, 153v, 161r, 163v, 177v, 188r, 189r, 199v, 214v, 231v, 246v; Porvoo I KO a:4: 12r.

⁵⁴⁸ Raasepori I KO a:2: 57v–r.

⁵⁴⁹ KA 3513: 15v.

⁵⁵⁰ KA 3422: 53v.

⁵⁵¹ KA 3523: 35r.

⁵⁵² KA 3577: 32v.

⁵⁵³ KA 3590: 43r; KA 3608a: 14r.

⁵⁵⁴ KA 3637a: 290r.

⁵⁵⁵ KA 3632: 76v–r.

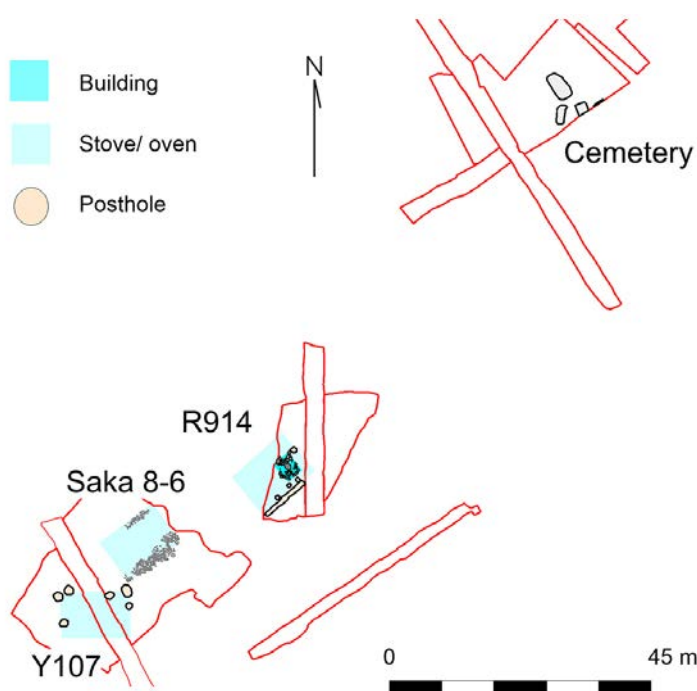


Fig 7.3 Late 12th and early 13th century structures excavated in Köklax. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

also partly excavated.⁵⁵⁶ Although the excavated structures have sometimes been connected to certain farms when making interpretations,⁵⁵⁷ it is difficult to say if the structures that predate the historical maps really belong to certain farms known from the early modern written records. Heini Hämäläinen has done GIS analysis on the historical maps from Köklax and noted that there are some inaccuracies with them, making it difficult to connect even the youngest excavated buildings to the farms shown on the maps. In addition, the locations of the farms have changed

in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the same has likely happened already before this.⁵⁵⁸ Thus, it is not possible to connect the excavated medieval and early modern structures to later historical farms with certainty.

As the site was settled until the 20th century, later buildings have disturbed the older layers. Still, remains of four or five medieval buildings and some poorly preserved structures belonging to early modern buildings were found during the excavations.⁵⁵⁹

Medieval settlement

The oldest structure found in Köklax is a posthole dating to the second half of the 13th century (Fig. 7.3; Fig. 7.4).⁵⁶⁰ The posthole was located next to a fireplace, *R914*, and the two structures were likely contemporaneous. *R914* consisted of loosely placed stones without a clear grate, and therefore it was likely a stove rather than an oven. The stove was surrounded by several postholes, and there was a ditch east of it. These may have been the foundations for a building or a lighter shelter, but it is also possible that the stove had been located outside. Next to the stove, a barrel was found in a pit. Low-fired Low-fire earthenware ceramics found in connection to the barrel suggest that it was also medieval, and likely connected to the oven.⁵⁶¹ Low-fired Low-fire earthenware pottery was typically used for cooking, so it is possible that the stove was used for preparing food.

⁵⁵⁶ Haggrén & Hakanpää 2003; Haggrén et al. 2004; Haggrén 2005b; Hämäläinen 2009: 70–81; 2010.

⁵⁵⁷ E.g. Haggrén 2005b.

⁵⁵⁸ Hämäläinen 2009: 70–81.

⁵⁵⁹ For details of the buildings, see Appendix 4.

⁵⁶⁰ Poz-8000. See Appendix 5 for details of the radiocarbon dates.

⁵⁶¹ Haggrén et al. 14–15; Haggrén 2005b: 89.

Remains of a small building, *Saka 8-6* (Fig. 7.5), were found in the western part of the plot, where the Juus farm was located in the 18th century.⁵⁶² The building had wall foundations laid of small stones and a poorly preserved wooden floor. The floor remains covered an area of approximately 16 m², but as the western part of the building was destroyed, it may have originally been larger. No fireplace was found inside the building, but some documented stones may have originated from a demolished stove or oven.⁵⁶³

A charred seed found in the floor layer of *Saka 8-6* has been dated to the late 13th or 14th century,⁵⁶⁴ and based on the stratigraphy the building was likely founded in the 13th or early 14th century. Most of the proto-stoneware found in Köklax was concentrated inside or nearby the building, and an earthenware pitcher was found just south of it. The small building was likely a dwelling house where drink was served and consumed from imported vessels. Remains that were likely connected to another building were found just south-west of *Saka*. These remains consisted of some postholes and remains of a cultural layer. A fragment of a spindle whorl and a piece of a loom weight were found in connection to the structures, so textile work may have been done here, likely by the inhabitants of *Saka 8-6*. The stove *R914*, located 10 metres east of *Saka 8-6*, may have been used for cooking by the inhabitants of this farm, or there was another farm around the place where *R914* was situated.

Another building, *Saka 7-2*,⁵⁶⁵ was built partly on top of *Saka 8-6* after it was left out of use, destroying the western end of the older building (Fig. 7.6; Fig. 7.7). *Saka 7-2* was proba-



◀ Fig 7.4 Medieval fireplace R914 (upper left) and several postholes and two ditches likely connected to the structure. Photo Georg Haggrén. The Picture collections, National Heritage Agency.

▲ Fig 7.5 Building Saka 8-6. The southern wall of the building (right in the picture) consisted of small stones. Photo Georg Haggrén. The Picture collections, National Heritage Agency.

⁵⁶² Haggrén 2005b: 85–89.

⁵⁶³ Haggrén et al. 2004: 11–12; Haggrén 2005b: 85–89.

⁵⁶⁴ Poz-8004.

⁵⁶⁵ In the excavation report referred to as *Saka 7-2/8-4*.

bly built in the late 14th century. A bracteate dating to the 1370s or 1380s was found under its floor, possibly having been placed there on purpose.⁵⁶⁶ The dating was further supported by a radiocarbon date,⁵⁶⁷ as well as a piece of Lower Saxon stoneware dating to the late 13th or early 14th century, also found underneath the building.⁵⁶⁸ The building was relatively well preserved, and it consisted of two separate rooms, a larger one in the east and a smaller one in the west.

The larger eastern room had a wall foundation consisting of small stones on both ends, and the wooden floor of the room was founded on a layer of clay. An oven foundation was located in the north-western corner of the room. The room covered an area of 32 m², while the smaller western one was only 8 m² in size. The smaller room had a wooden floor founded on top of a sparse stone foundation, on a lower level than the eastern room,⁵⁶⁹ and it was possibly accessed from outside via a separate door. The larger room was probably used for living and the smaller room for storage.

Another medieval building, *Saka 8-5*,⁵⁷⁰ was located 5 metres south-east from *Saka 7-2*. *Saka 8-5* was quite lightly founded, with no stone structures under the walls or floor, and no fireplace was identified amongst the remains. Only parts of the building's wooden floor or wall structures were preserved. Based on these, the western part of the building was approximately 8 metres long. The building might have had several rooms, but because of the poor preservation this could not be verified.⁵⁷¹ A charred seed from the cultural

layer inside the building dated to the 14th century,⁵⁷² and a shard of Lower Saxon stoneware likely belonging to the same vessel as the shard found under the floor of *Saka 7-2* was found in a pit under the floor of *Saka 8-5*.⁵⁷³ Thus, *Saka 7-2* and *Saka 8-5* were likely contemporary buildings, built during the second half of the 14th century, with *Saka 7-2* being a dwelling house and *Saka 8-5* an outbuilding. Based on the close

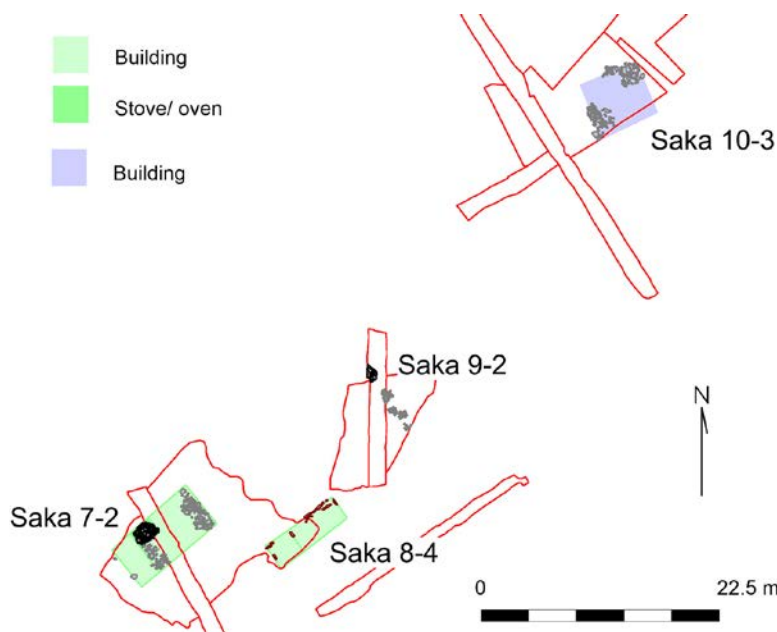


Fig. 7.6 Late 14th-16th century building remains in Köklax. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

⁵⁶⁶ KM 2004020:1/ Money cabinet, National Museum; Haggrén et al. 2004: 10–11; 23; Hukantaival 2016: 325; Ehrnsten 2019: 336.

⁵⁶⁷ Poz-8002.

⁵⁶⁸ KM 2003111:69; Haggrén et al. 2004: 26. See also Tevali 2010b.

⁵⁶⁹ Haggrén et al. 2004: 8–9; Haggrén 2005b: 85–89.

⁵⁷⁰ In the excavation report referred to as *Saka 8-5/ 9-1*.

⁵⁷¹ Haggrén et al. 2004: 11, 14–15; Haggrén 2005b: 89.

⁵⁷² Poz-8001.

⁵⁷³ KM 2003111: 56, 417.

Fig. 7.7 Building Saka 7-2. The oven of the building in the foreground, behind it are the northern room with a clay foundation and the eastern wall of the building. Photo Georg Haggrén. The Picture collections, National Heritage Agency.



location and similar orientation of the two buildings, they likely belonged to the same farmstead. A large number of 13th- and 14th-century ceramics, both stoneware and low-fired earthenware, were found south of *Saka 7-2*, and although some of the ceramics were likely connected to earlier buildings, some of the vessels may have been used by the inhabitants of *Saka 7-2*.

Another medieval building, *Saka 10-3*, was located 40 metres north-east from the above-mentioned structures. The building was poorly preserved, and only fragmentary remains of a wooden floor and wall foundations laid of small stones were found. The southern end of the building was left outside the excavated area, but based on the excavated part it covered an area of at least 30 m². No fireplace was located in the excavated part.⁵⁷⁴ The building was dated to the late medieval or early modern period, from the 15th to the 17th century, based on a piece of Siegburg stoneware⁵⁷⁵ and some redware ceramics found in the cultural layer connected to the floor. Overall, there were very few finds in the cultural layer. The function of the building remained unclear, but the small number of finds and possible lack of fireplace suggest that *Saka 10-3* might have been an outbuilding.

Found under the floor of *Saka 10-3* were 5–10 oblong pits, which were interpreted as graves. Only one of them, *grave 1*, was excavated, while the rest of them were left to wait for further excavations. This was determined to be an inhumation grave with a coffin. Wood belonging to the coffin was decomposed and scattered in the fill layers along with some nails, which likely belonged to the coffin as well. No grave goods or remains of the deceased were found in the grave, which is normal in Finnish soil.⁵⁷⁶ The exact age of the burial could not be determined, but a shard of low-fired earthenware ceramics⁵⁷⁷ was found in the fill layer, suggesting that the grave was likely early medieval. Georg Haggrén has noted how it would have been unlikely for the village cemetery to have stayed in use after the parish chapel was founded just three kilometres from Köklax in the late 14th century.⁵⁷⁸ It is also hard to determine the extent of the cemetery, as it may have continued outside the excavated area.

⁵⁷⁴ Haggrén et al. 2004: 16–17; Haggrén 2005b: 89–90.

⁵⁷⁵ KM 2003111: 704.

⁵⁷⁶ Haggrén et al. 2004: 17–18; Haggrén 2005b: 91–92; Salonen 2017: 18.

⁵⁷⁷ KM 2003111: 730.

⁵⁷⁸ Haggrén 2005b: 91–92; Hiekkanen 2007: 428–429.

Early modern settlement

Some structures found at the excavations were interpreted to be remains of early modern buildings. However, these were very fragmentary, and only one building, *Saka 9-2*, could be reconstructed based on them. It is possible that the stone structures interpreted as building *Saka 9-2* actually belonged to two or more separate buildings, with the southern structures possibly dating to the Middle Ages, while the northernmost structure may have been connected to a partially excavated oven foundation (*R218*) and dating to the early modern period. Furthermore, fragmentary structures belonging to two additional early modern buildings have been tentatively identified from the material.⁵⁷⁹ Overall, the early modern buildings seem to have been more damaged by the later buildings than the medieval ones, despite the medieval buildings having been left under later structures as well.⁵⁸⁰

Altogether, remains of at least 14 buildings were studied at the old plot of Köklax during the archaeological excavations in 2002 and 2003, with most of them dating from the 18th to the 20th century. In 2007, a small-scale test excavation was undertaken at the plot of the Bisa farm, located 200 metres west of the main plot. Remains of a building dating from the 16th to the 18th century were found in Bisa, but as only a small part of the building was excavated, the exact dating and function of the building remain unclear.⁵⁸¹ Other excavations⁵⁸² in the area have only yielded younger remains from the 18th to the 20th century.

7.3 MATERIAL CULTURE

In Köklax, it is very difficult to date a large part of the find material (Table 7.2). Many of the excavated contexts were mixed, containing finds from the Middle Ages up to the 19th or even 20th century.⁵⁸³ Therefore, the contexts offer little help with dating objects which have remained quite similar from the medieval to the early modern or even modern period. This is especially true with the iron objects, but also with fragmentary redware ceramics. For this reason, the focus of this chapter is on the objects which are clearly medieval or early modern, and the distinctly modern finds have not been included in the tables. Other object groups which may contain objects from the medieval to the modern period, like finds related to building and living, are discussed briefly. It should be kept in mind that the number of different finds is not comparable with sites like Mäkkylä, Mankby, and Gubbacka, where almost all the finds are medieval or from the 16th or the 17th century.

Object group	No
Building and living	762
Table culture and cooking	865
Personal objects and clothing	17
Handicrafts	36
Agriculture	1
Hunting and fishing	1
Horses and riding equipment	211
Leisure	85
Religion and folkbeliefs	2

Table 7.2 Finds related to different object categories in Köklax. No – Number of fragments.

⁵⁷⁹ R711/R109 and R827; see table in Appendix 4.

⁵⁸⁰ Haggrén et al. 2004: 12–14, 30–31; Haggrén 2005b: 85–90.

⁵⁸¹ Hämäläinen 2007: 19–23.

⁵⁸² Hakanpää 2005a; Koivisto & Suhonen 2009.

⁵⁸³ Haggrén & Hakanpää 2003; Haggrén et al. 2004.

Building and living

Most of the finds connected to building and living in Köklax consist of iron objects like nails, rods, clasps, and different kinds of plates and fittings (Table 7.3). There is also one iron candle holder among the material.⁵⁸⁴ Besides the iron objects, the most common find material connected to building and living are flint flakes. There is also some window glass among the find material, but the shards are mostly hard to date. Some of the shards have grozed edges,⁵⁸⁵ suggesting that they date to the 16th or early 17th century. However, windows do not seem to have been common this early, although a more detailed analysis of the material might give a better picture of their number.

Building and living	No
Candle stick	1
Clasp	3
Flint	77
Hinge	2
Hook	3
Iron fitting	6
Loop	1
Nail	330
Plate	31
Quartz	2
Ring	2
Rivet	3
Rod	66
Stove tile	1
Strike-a-light iron	1
U-shaped staple	1
Window glass	232

Table 7.3 Finds related to building and living in Köklax.

Table culture and cooking

Ceramics

About 10% of the overall ceramic material collected in Köklax consists of low-fired earthenware ceramics (Table 7.4). There are rim shards from at least three profiled, wheel-turned vessels,⁵⁸⁶ and several shards from the body of wheel-turned vessels which have been decorated with straight lines on the outside.⁵⁸⁷ These resemble vessels used in north-eastern Russia or Estonia in the Middle Ages.⁵⁸⁸ In addition, several shards of an earthenware pitcher have been found in Köklax (Fig. 7.8).⁵⁸⁹ The colour and composition of the clay and the temper resemble that of the low-fired earthenware ceramics found at the site. The unglazed pitcher has a handle and is decorated with applied straight and wavy lines on the outside. The exact origin and dating of the pitcher are unclear, but it resembles early redware pitchers dating to the 13th and 14th centuries. According to Georg Haggrén,

Table culture and cooking	No
Copper alloy cauldron	1
Earthenware	69
Faience	13
Glass bottle	69
Glass vessel	32
Hard-fired greyware	1
Iron cauldron	4
Porcelain	1
Proto-stoneware	6
Redware	600
Stoneware	56
Table knife	3
Whiteware	10

Table 7.4 Finds related to table culture and cooking in Köklax.

⁵⁸⁴ KM 2003111: 244.

⁵⁸⁵ E.g. KM 2003111: 123, 237.

⁵⁸⁶ KM 2002069: 166, 206, 207; KM 2003111: 409, 730.

⁵⁸⁷ E.g. KM 2003111: 403; 459.

⁵⁸⁸ Tvauri 2000; Haggrén 2005b: 93–94.

⁵⁸⁹ KM 2003111: 263, 277, 324.

similar vessels have been found in Denmark.⁵⁹⁰ The find is quite unusual, especially for rural sites in Finland.

There are shards belonging to at least four proto-stoneware vessels among the material from Köklax.⁵⁹¹ The vessels originate from different German production sites, and date to the 13th or 14th century (Fig. 7.9).⁵⁹² There is also a notable number of shards originating from medieval stoneware vessels. At least nine of the shards likely belong to a single vessel manufactured in Lower Saxony in the 14th century.⁵⁹³ In addition, there are shards originating from at least three vessels manufactured in Siegburg. Some of the shards likely originate from vessels dating to the 14th century,⁵⁹⁴ while others are more likely from vessels manufactured in the 15th or early 16th century.⁵⁹⁵ Besides these, there are shards from at least six or seven other medieval stoneware vessels originating from different areas, and also shards belonging to early modern vessels from the late 16th or 17th century.⁵⁹⁶ Most of the medieval proto-stoneware and stoneware was found in connection to buildings *Saka* 7-2, 8-5, and 8-6, while low-fired earthenware was concentrated especially next to stove *R914* (Fig. 7.10).

Most of the catalogued shards from Köklax, approximately 80% of the total ceramic material, originate from redware vessels. Some of the shards belong to tripod pipkins which may be late medieval or early modern, but there are also a large number of shards originating from bowls or plates. Many of the shards may be from the 18th or 19th century, and thus they are not comparable with the material from the sites. There are also some shards originating from other types of early modern pottery. Some of these belong to an early modern whiteware vessel with yellow lead glaze on the inside.⁵⁹⁷ One of the shards⁵⁹⁸ originates from a hard-fired greyware vessel manufactured in a Bohemian area or southern Poland



► Fig. 7.9 A shard of a German proto-stoneware vessel. KM 2002069: 75. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

◄ Fig. 7.8 Shards originating from an earthenware pitcher. KM 2003111: 263. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.



⁵⁹⁰ Liebgott 2001; Haggrén 2005b: 95.

⁵⁹¹ KM 2002069: 2; KM 2002069: 75; KM 2003111: 83, 158, 415; KM 2003111: 365.

⁵⁹² Haggrén et al. 2004: 26–27; Haggrén 2005b: 95–96.

⁵⁹³ KM 2002069: 192; KM 2003111: 56, 69, 295, 345, 417, 426, 530, 595; Haggrén et al. 2004: 26; see also Tevali 2010b.

⁵⁹⁴ E.g. KM 2003111: 30, 31, 201, 301, 311, 326, 366; see Haggrén et al. 2004: 27.

⁵⁹⁵ E.g. KM 2003111: 331, 641, 704; see Haggrén et al. 2004: 27.

⁵⁹⁶ Haggrén et al. 2004: 26–27; Haggrén 2005b: 95–96.

⁵⁹⁷ KM 2002069: 167, 227; KM 2003111: 233, 240, 379.

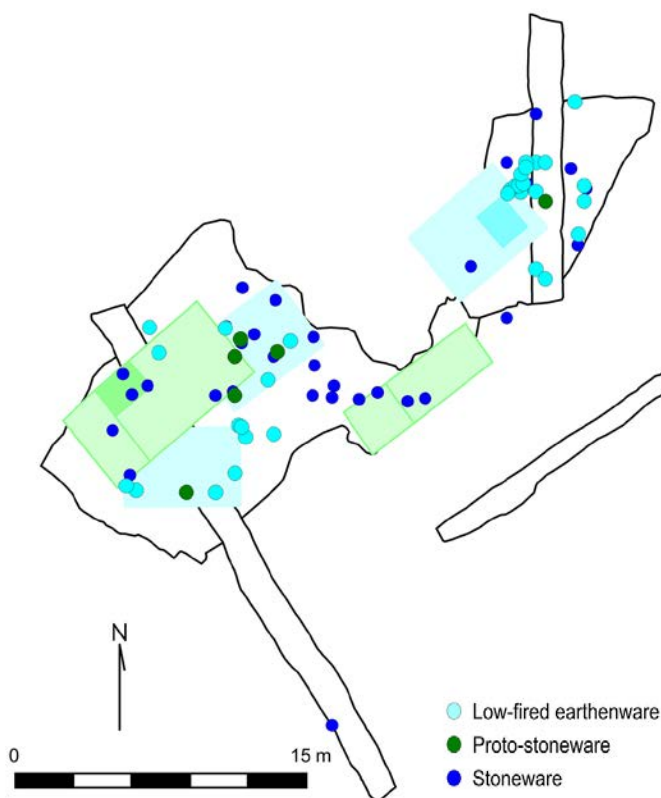
⁵⁹⁸ KM 2003111: 63.

Fig. 7.10 Distribution of medieval and early modern earthenware and stoneware ceramics.

in the late 16th or early 17th century.⁵⁹⁹ In addition, the catalogued material contains some early modern faience, although most of the faience, creamware, and porcelain found at the excavations was discarded without any documentation.

Other tableware

Three table knives have been identified among the finds from Köklax.⁶⁰⁰ Some of the other knife fragments may also originate from table knives, but overall, knives with decorated handles seem to have been quite rare in Köklax. Besides the knives, there are three iron cauldron feet among the finds.⁶⁰¹ No medieval glass vessels have been identified in the material, and the oldest identified vessels are late 17th-century wine glasses and bottles from the turn of the 18th century.



Personal objects and clothing

Only a small number of finds from Köklax are clearly related to personal objects or clothing (Table 7.5). Many of these, like a glass button and a copper alloy button with a flower motif,⁶⁰² likely date to the 18th or 19th century. Some of the copper alloy fittings and iron buckles may be medieval or early modern, but there are not many of these among the finds. Some of the unidentified bronze and iron fragments may also originate from personal objects, so the number of identified finds might not tell the whole truth. The most interesting personal item from Köklax is a horse or bird pendant,⁶⁰³ which Anna Wessman has identified among the finds. The pendant dates to the Crusade Period, and the type was used at least until the end of the 12th century. Similar pendants were used especially on the Karelian Isthmus, but they likely originate from present-day Ingria.⁶⁰⁴

Personal objects are not mentioned in the written sources, but on one occasion in 1529 Erik Basse bought 12 ells of *engls*, English cloth, and 6 ells of another cheaper cloth from

⁵⁹⁹ See, e.g., Väisänen 2016: 162.

⁶⁰⁰ KM 2002069: 336; KM 2003111: 165, 353.

⁶⁰¹ KM 2003111: 250, 494, 697.

⁶⁰² KM 2003111: 247; 383.

⁶⁰³ KM 2003111: 275.

⁶⁰⁴ Wessman 2016: 24–25.

Helmich Ficke in Tallinn, showing that different types of cloth were used by the villagers.⁶⁰⁵

Handicrafts

Most of the finds connected to handicrafts from Köklax are knives. In addition, there are some whetstones in the material (Table 7.6). Fragments of three clay loom weights or spindle whorls⁶⁰⁶ suggest that textile work was also done in Köklax. There are also two thimbles among the finds – a bronze one, which might be medieval or early modern, and a decorated silver one – and one iron needle possibly used for sewing.⁶⁰⁷

During the excavations, only 3.5 kilograms of iron slag was found scattered about in small quantities. Most of the slag was concentrated in the eastern part of the excavated area, but as this area was not fully excavated, it is unclear if the slag here was connected to some structures or if the context was secondary. Based on the small amount of slag, it seems that no large-scale smith work was done at the studied plot, even though there may have been a smithy elsewhere in the village area. As there was a farm called Smeds (*Smith's*) in the neighbouring village of Kurtby,⁶⁰⁸ it is also possible that the inhabitants of Köklax used the services of a smith living there.

Livelihoods

None of the clearly medieval finds from Köklax can be connected to hunting and fishing. Just one of the finds, an arrowhead with an unclear dating, can be connected to hunting. The only evidence of fish being consumed in the village comes from receipts treating different goods the Swedish troops took from Köklax on their way east in the late 16th century. Salted or dried fish was occasionally listed

Personal objects and clothing	No
Buckle	1
Button	1
Copper alloy buckle	1
Copper alloy button	2
Copper alloy fitting	3
Copper alloy mount	1
Copper alloy plate	2
Fitting	1
Glass bead	1
Glass button	1
Iron buckle	3

Table 7.5 Finds related to personal objects and clothing in Köklax.

Handicrafts	No
Auger?	1
Knife	19
Loom weight	2
Iron needle	1
Spindle whorl	1
Thimble	2
Tool with a blade	1
Wedge	1
Whetstone	8

Table 7.6 Finds related to handicrafts in Köklax.

Horses and riding equipment	No
Bit fragment	1
Horseshoe	6
Horseshoe nail	202
Ice shoe	2

Table 7.7 Finds related to horses and riding in Köklax.

⁶⁰⁵ TLA A. f. 17: 147.

⁶⁰⁶ KM 2003111: 53, 70, 749.

⁶⁰⁷ KM 2003111: 453; KM 2003111: 526; KM 2003111: 302.

⁶⁰⁸ Kepsu 2010: 66–67.

Peasant	Cows	1 year old cows	Sheep	Horses
Anders Jonsson	3		3	2
Mårten Erichsson	3	1	4	1
Staffan Poualsson	2		5	1
Thåmas Ersson	3	2	5	1
Matz Jacobsson	3	2	7	1
Henrich Mårthensson	2	2	6	1
Jacob Staffansson				
Henrich Jonsson	4		4	2
Pouell Marchusson	3		4	1

Table 7.8 The amount of cattle owned by the villagers in 1571.

cultivated in the village during the Middle Ages,⁶¹¹ and written sources tell that the same is true for the early modern period, when rye and barley were the most important crops.⁶¹² Livestock was an important part of the economy in Köklax, but only a small number of objects connected to agriculture or livestock were found during the excavations. Only one of the finds, a cowbell, is related to livestock kept in the village, but horseshoe nails and horseshoes are common among the finds (Table 7.7).⁶¹³ The animal bones found during the excavations have not been analysed, so written sources shed the most light on the animals kept in the village. In 1571, the villagers had a total of 30 cows or heifers, 38 sheep, and 10 horses (Table 7.8).⁶¹⁴ Everyday farming caused occasional conflicts between the villagers and their neighbours, and sometimes the disputes over fields or meadows had to be resolved in court.⁶¹⁵

Other finds

There is just one medieval coin, a Swedish bracteate dating to 1370–1380, among the finds from Köklax.⁶¹⁶ As the bracteate was found in a small pit under the floor of a medieval building, it has been suggested that it may have been a building concealment.⁶¹⁷ In addition, the finds include several coins dating from the 17th to the 20th century. No coins dating to the early 16th century were found, even though at least one of the farms was engaged in trade at this point.

There is a large number of clay pipe fragments⁶¹⁸ among the finds, some of them dating to the 17th century.⁶¹⁹ In addition, a fragment originating from an edged Stone Age tool

among the taken goods,⁶⁰⁹ but it is unclear if it these were caught by the villagers themselves or purchased from somewhere else. Some 15th-century structures used for fishing by the neighbouring village of Mulby have been found in Espoonjoki river,⁶¹⁰ and it is possible that the inhabitants of Köklax also used the river for fishing.

Macrofossil analyses show that barley, rye, and oats were

⁶⁰⁹ KA 154: 121 v–r; KA 3399: 99r–100v; KA 3453: 80v; 3491: 77v.

⁶¹⁰ Tevali 2019a.

⁶¹¹ Haggrén & Hakanpää 2003; Haggrén 2005b: 97.

⁶¹² E.g. KA 3003: 29r; KA 3522: 174r–176v.

⁶¹³ KM 2003111: 142.

⁶¹⁴ KA 3324: 95v.

⁶¹⁵ E.g. KA 2939: 45v; KA 3169: 1r.

⁶¹⁶ Ehrnsten 2019: 336; KM 2004020:1/ Money cabinet, National Museum.

⁶¹⁷ Hukantaival 2016: 325.

⁶¹⁸ The number of fragments amounted to 81.

⁶¹⁹ E.g. KM 2002069: 129, 216; KM 2003111: 498.

was found.⁶²⁰ It might be a loose find, but as Stone Age tools were sometimes concealed in buildings during historical times,⁶²¹ the object may have been brought to the plot for this purpose. Another find connected to religion was an Orthodox cross,⁶²² likely dating to the 18th century.

7.4 MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SETTLEMENT IN KÖKLAX – A SUMMARY

The earliest buildings excavated in Köklax date to the 13th or early 14th century, but there may have been settlement in the area already before this, as the finds include a Crusade Period horse pendant. The name of the village, as well as other place names in the area, suggest that the first settlers in the area were Finnish-speaking and the villagers gradually changed their language to Swedish during the Middle Ages. The names of the farms known from the 16th century onwards are mainly Swedish, although there are Finnish elements in some of the names.⁶²³

In the late 13th century, there was at least one farmstead in the village, located in the western part of the excavated plot. The farmstead consisted of a main building, *Saka 8-6*, likely used for handicrafts, *Y107*, and possibly a separate kitchen, *R914*. The kitchen may have belonged to another farmstead as well, based on the distance between the buildings. The inhabitants of *Saka 8-6* seem to have been well off, as the find material connected to the building contains shards from several proto-stoneware and stoneware vessels, which are not typically found in such numbers at rural sites in the late 13th- and early 14th-century contexts. At the same time when *Saka 8-6* was settled, there was a small cemetery in the eastern part of the village.

During the second half of the 14th century, the old main building was replaced by a new one, *Saka 7-2*, with two rooms. In addition, another building, *Saka 8-5*, which was likely used as an outbuilding, was built next to the dwelling house. During the same time or shortly thereafter, the village cemetery seems to have been left out of use, and a building was later erected on the site where it had previously been situated. Anna-Maria Salonen has noted that it is likely that when the building was erected, the knowledge of the old cemetery or at least its exact location had already disappeared.⁶²⁴ The time needed for this may have been some generations.

Several buildings were constructed on the plot from the 18th century onwards, and these severely damaged many of the older structures. It is difficult to say if the medieval buildings excavated in Köklax represent the same farms which are known to have been located on the plot during the 18th century, based on the historical maps. The maps clearly show that the space was rearranged in the village during the 18th century,⁶²⁵ and the same may also well have happened before this.

⁶²⁰ KM 2003111: 710.

⁶²¹ Hukantaival 2016: 181–185.

⁶²² KM 2003111: 24.

⁶²³ Kepsu 2010: 72–75; 144.

⁶²⁴ Salonen 2017: 20.

⁶²⁵ Hämäläinen 2009; 2010.

8 MÄKKYLÄ – A VILLAGE WITH FINNISH ROOTS

Mäkkylä is located in eastern Espoo. The old village area has been left inland, but during the medieval and early modern periods, a sea bay stretched into the area. The village meadows were located on its western shore, and a narrow stream ran into the sea across the village fields. The name Mäkkylä is based on the Finnish name *Mäkelä* or *Mäkilä*, which means a settlement – either a farm or a village – on a hill; thus, it indicates an originally Finnish-speaking settlement.⁶²⁶ Mäkkylä is located in the Hoplax area, where there are a notable number of Finnish place names, including the names of several villages. This has been interpreted as an indication of Finnish settlement in the area during the time when the first villages were founded.⁶²⁷ Based on the Finnish name and the location of the village, it has been suggested that Mäkkylä might be one of the oldest villages in the area.⁶²⁸

According to historical maps, there were at least two plots in Mäkkylä besides the western plot where a manor was founded in the early 17th century. The earliest map of the area from 1691⁶²⁹ shows only the location of the manor, but later maps give more clues about the older plots (Fig. 8.1). On a concept version of the map from 1734,⁶³⁰ an old plot is marked south-east of the manor site, on the northern edge of the fields. This plot has later been called *Kalkkipellonmäki* after a modern place name. On the parish map from 1750,⁶³¹ another old plot has been marked between the manor site and the plot marked on the earlier map. This plot was located close to the border between old village fields called *Öster åker* and *Wäster åker*, or east field and west field. This kind of location between two main fields was common for a village plot in the medieval and early modern periods, as noted already in the case of Mankby with a similar location.⁶³² This plot was subsequently called *Puustellinmäki* after a military residential house that was later located on the hill.

Previously it was thought that the plot located on *Kalkkipellonmäki* was the oldest village site and the plot in *Puustellinmäki* was settled first during a rebuilding phase after a raid by Russian troops

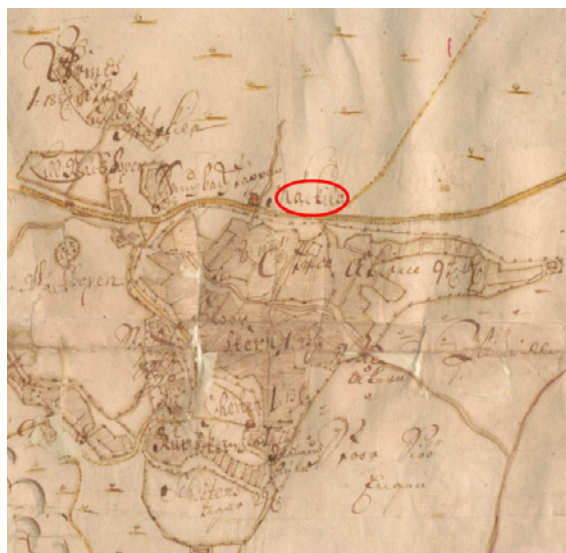


Fig. 8.1 The oldest map of Mäkkylä (1691) shows the location of the early modern manor. The excavated medieval village plot (circled in red) is located east of the manor. Map National Archives of Finland.

⁶²⁶ Kepsu 2010: 93.

⁶²⁷ Kerkkonen 1963: 48–50; Kepsu 2005: 213–215.

⁶²⁸ Lindholm 1999: 36–37; Kepsu 2010: 93–94.

⁶²⁹ Broterus 1691.

⁶³⁰ Giöker 1734a, 1734b.

⁶³¹ Rantatupa 2020.

⁶³² Haggrén 2009a: 31.

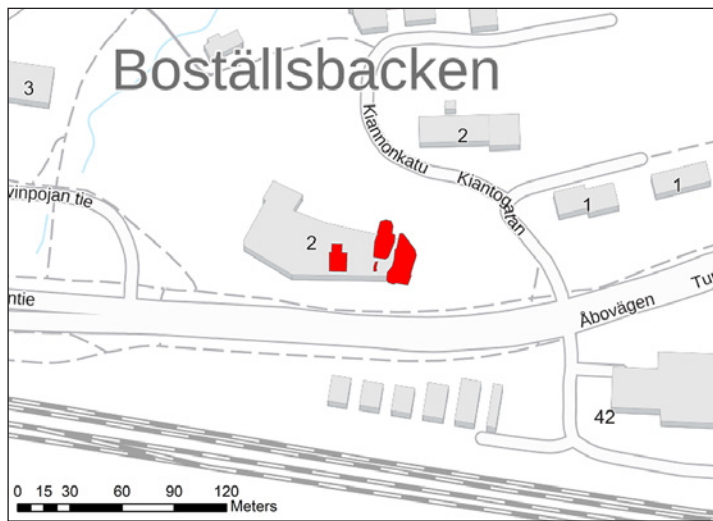


Fig 8.2 Excavated areas in Mäkkylä. A new building has been erected on the site after the excavations. Map Tuuli Heinonen, background map National Land Survey of Finland.

in 1577.⁶³³ However, archaeological excavations have clearly shown that the Puustellinmäki plot was settled already by the Early Middle Ages.⁶³⁴ This sug-

gests that either both plots were settled during an early settlement phase or that the plot located in Kalkkipellonmäki is a younger site. Unfortunately, the question remains open, as no archaeological excavations were carried out at Kalkkipellonmäki before most of it was destroyed by modern office buildings.

The two village plots were surveyed in the early 2000s.⁶³⁵ The better-preserved northern plot, Puustellinmäki, located on a south-facing slope of a forested rocky hill and surrounded by school buildings, was found to be archaeologically interesting. In 2014, an intensive field survey was done on the site in connection to a development plan, and a large rescue excavation followed the year after. The site was excavated for three months, and an area of approximately 2100 m² was uncovered, with some 650 m² chosen for a more detailed excavation (Fig. 8.2).⁶³⁶ Several medieval and early modern structures were found during the excavation.

8.1 THE VILLAGE AND ITS INHABITANTS

During the medieval and early modern periods, Mäkkylä belonged to both the administrative and the church parish of Helsing, until it was reassigned to the church parish of Espoo in the 1680s.⁶³⁷ Although Mäkkylä was settled during the Middle Ages, there are no written mentions of the village before the first tax records in 1540. At this point, there were five farms in the village.⁶³⁸ The farms paid altogether three full taxes, which would suggest that at the end of the 14th century the number of farms in the village was three. In the 16th century, Mäkkylä was not a particularly wealthy village. The size of the farms varied, but only one of them, the farm owned by Oluf Mickelsson, had 18 ells of arable lands, amounting to one full tax. Other farms were smaller, and the one owned by Sigfred Persson amounted

⁶³³ Lindholm 1999: 37; KA 161: 5r-6v.

⁶³⁴ ark-byroo 2016.

⁶³⁵ Nurminen 2000; Hakanpää 2005b.

⁶³⁶ ark-byroo 2014a; ark-byroo 2014b; ark-byroo 2016.

⁶³⁷ Ramsay 1936: 10–12.

⁶³⁸ KA 2920: 100–101.

to just one quarter of a full tax with its 4.5 ells.⁶³⁹ In 1571, the taxable property of only one of the villagers, Oluf Mickelsson, exceeded the median wealth of 57 marks in the parish (Table 8.1).⁶⁴⁰ One of the other villagers, Morten Jönsson, was even noted as being poor.

Peasant	Property in marks (mk) and öre
Oluff Michelson	68 mk 1 öre
Hans Hendrichson	55 mk 6 öre
Anders Persson	32 1/2 mk
Siffred Persson	31 mk 2 öre
Morthen Jönsson	25 mk

Table 8.1 The value of property of the peasants living in Mäkkylä in 1571.

Based on the small number of available sources, in this case mostly the lists of fines and court records from the 1590s, the inhabitants of Mäkkylä did not have a wide-reaching contact network.⁶⁴¹ All the cases involving parties from outside the village were fights between peasants from Mäkkylä and from one of the neighbouring villages. Peasants from Mäkkylä were sometimes fined for refusing to fulfil their duties, such as maintaining roads and bridges, and on one occasion refusing to take part in erecting a building for malting (*maltpört*) in the vicarage.⁶⁴² Still, despite their occasional stubbornness, the inhabitants of Mäkkylä took part in local administration and five of the peasants acted as jurors during the second half of the 16th century. Two of them are mentioned only in single cases,⁶⁴³ and one of them three times.⁶⁴⁴ In the case of Sigfred Persson and his son Erik Sigfredsson, the position of juror ran in the family; Sigfred acted as juror at least two times in the 1570s and Erik for at least three years in the 1590s.⁶⁴⁵ Their position was not based on wealth, as their farm was the smallest in the village throughout the second half of the 16th century.

In 1577, a group of Russian soldiers raided the village.⁶⁴⁶ Besides the great material losses, 22 people were taken by the raiders. In a village with likely no more than 50 inhabitants, this was a tragedy which considerably affected the future of the village. Two of the farms, both of which had been among the poorest in the village in 1571, lost their ability to pay taxes after the raid.⁶⁴⁷ Although new farmers took them over, it seems that the raid was the final blow for the already struggling farms, which never recovered from the losses. In 1589, both were given by the Crown to the mayor of Helsinki, Hans Olsson, as payment for a debt.⁶⁴⁸

Even the rest of the farms struggled in the late 16th century and were unable to pay taxes at times. In the early 1580s, the farms reorganised their land property, and a new farm was founded in the village. The new farm, farmed by Per Eriksson, became the most viable in the village and by the end of the century it was the only farm in Mäkkylä capable of paying tithes in most years.⁶⁴⁹ This shows how the raided households had long-lasting problems. However, even Per Eriksson was deemed to be so poor in 1595 that when he was fined for

⁶³⁹ E.g. KA 3230: 9r.

⁶⁴⁰ KA 3324: 75r.

⁶⁴¹ See Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

⁶⁴² KA 3364: 85v.

⁶⁴³ Michel Olsson in 1558, KA 3101:7; Per Andersson in 1563, 3231: 12v.

⁶⁴⁴ Per Eriksson in 1592 and 1593, KA 219: 12v, 19v, 29r.

⁶⁴⁵ KA 219: 54r, 60v, 77v, 100v; KA 3335: 114v; KA3347: 73.

⁶⁴⁶ KA 161, 5r-6v.

⁶⁴⁷ E.g. KA 3419a: 77v.

⁶⁴⁸ KA 3441: 108r-v.

⁶⁴⁹ KA 3466: 65r, 3480: 58r.

having sex with the sister-in-law of another villager, his fine was reduced from 40 marks to just six because of his poverty.⁶⁵⁰

By 1604 all of the four remaining peasants in Mäkkylä had lost their ability to pay taxes, and two of the farms been left deserted.⁶⁵¹ Mayor Hans Olsson saw his opportunity, and by 1606 he had purchased the remaining farms.⁶⁵² After this, he founded a residential manor in the area, and soon thereafter the old village site seems to have been mostly left unoccupied.⁶⁵³ In 1613, Hans Olsson was the only person in Mäkkylä paying the Älvsborg ransom,⁶⁵⁴ showing that there were no other taxpayers in Mäkkylä at this point. It is unclear what had happened to the peasants, but as their names do not appear in the tax books after they left Mäkkylä, it is unlikely they took up new farms in other villages in the area. In the 1630s, besides the inhabitants of the manor, only one tenant farmer lived in Mäkkylä,⁶⁵⁵ and the location of his farm is unknown. By 1691, the old village site had disappeared, and only the location of the manor was shown on the map.

8.2 BUILDINGS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Several buildings belonging to the different phases of the village settlement have been found in Mäkkylä. The earliest date to the late 12th or early 13th century, and the youngest to the turn of the 17th century. Based on the excavations, between two to four farmsteads were located at the excavated area of the Puustellinmäki plot. Most of the buildings at the site were only partly preserved, as later buildings and other activities had destroyed many of the oldest structures. Still, remains of at least thirteen buildings were identified.⁶⁵⁶ Besides these, a large number of pits and stone constructions with uncertain functions were found. As the oldest layers were not completely excavated,⁶⁵⁷ it is possible that there had been settlement at the site even before the late 12th century, but this remains an open question.

Earliest settlement phase, late 12th to mid-14th century

Two or three of the excavated buildings belonged to the earliest settlement phase at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries or shortly thereafter (Fig. 8.3). All of these were located in the eastern part of the plot. The northernmost of the buildings, RA3-A, was only partly preserved, as its western part, including the majority of the building's floor area, had been destroyed by a road, except for the western wall foundation consisting of small stones. However, the stone foundation for the east wall and a small fireplace in the eastern end of

⁶⁵⁰ KA 219, 88v.

⁶⁵¹ KA 3509: 51v–52v.

⁶⁵² KA 3528: 192v.

⁶⁵³ Ramsay 1936: 388–390; ark-byroo 2016.

⁶⁵⁴ KA483Dc: 59v.

⁶⁵⁵ KA 7879: 218.

⁶⁵⁶ For details of the buildings, see Appendix 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Gestrin 2016.

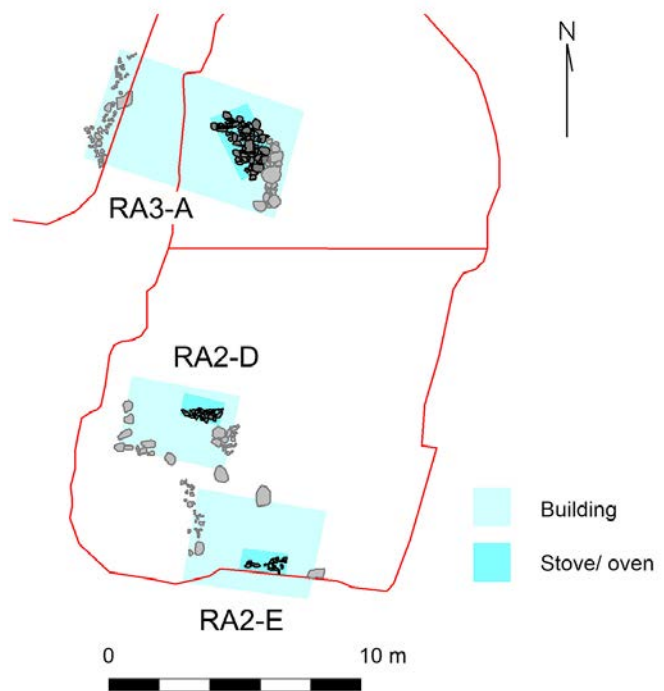
► Fig. 8.3 Late 12th and 13th century buildings excavated in Mäkkylä. Map Tuuli Heinen.

▼ Fig. 8.4 Charred remains of the building RA2-E. The stove of the building consisted of small stones and is located next to the profile (right in the picture). Photo ark-byroo.

the building were quite well preserved. The fireplace was interpreted as a stove, or possibly a small oven with a clay dome.⁶⁵⁸

The building may have been a dwelling house, but as ovens with a clay dome were well suited for cooking,⁶⁵⁹ the building may also have been an outhouse used for preparing food. The macrofossil samples from the building contained a number of charred grains, which were otherwise not found in contemporary buildings.⁶⁶⁰ In addition, a large amount of low-fire earthenware pottery was found just east of the building, also suggesting that cooking took place in this area of the plot. Charcoal obtained from a wooden structure below the fireplace foundation has been dated to 1160–1270 AD, suggesting that the stove and the building were built in the late 12th or 13th century.⁶⁶¹ The finds connected to the building also contained a chain holder typical for Finnish-speaking areas in the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. It is likely that the building was used by the first settlers of the village.

Remains of a contemporary building, RA2-E (Fig. 8.4), were located about 10 metres south of *building* RA3-A. The remains consisted of a charred wooden floor founded on a layer of sand. The upper part of the floor had decomposed into small chips, but the lower part of was in better condition. During the excavation, these were interpreted as two different floors belonging to two sequential buildings, but these were more likely part of the same construction. A stone structure located in the centre of the floor may have been a stove foundation, but as it was mostly left outside the excavated area, the interpretation remains tentative. The function of the building could not be determined because of the poor preservation and since only part of it was excavated.⁶⁶²



⁶⁵⁸ ark-byroo 2016: 56–59.

⁶⁵⁹ Mikkanen 2017: 11–13.

⁶⁶⁰ Savunen in ark-byroo 2015.

⁶⁶¹ 15C/1109. For details of the radiocarbon dates, see Appendix 5.

⁶⁶² ark-byroo 2016: 41–42.

A C14 dating obtained from the charred floor places the building in the late 12th or 13th century.⁶⁶³

It is likely that an additional building, *RA2-D*, also belonged to the earliest settlement phase of the village or was built soon after the two buildings mentioned above. This building was located north-west of *RA2-E*, and only the southern part of it was preserved. The remains consisted of a burnt wooden floor, as well as some stone foundations for the southern, western, and eastern walls. A partly excavated pit containing burnt stones was interpreted as a stove, but as most of the remains were located under a large tree stump, the structure could not be studied in detail.⁶⁶⁴

C14 analysis of the charcoal found in the layer above the burnt floor dates it to the 15th and 16th centuries, and in the excavation report the building was dated accordingly.⁶⁶⁵ However, the date was obtained from the layer above the actual cultural layer and floor belonging to the building. The ceramics found in connection with *RA2-D* were low-fired earthenware with only one piece of Siegburg stoneware dating to the 14th or 15th century among the finds. Thus, it seems that the building was founded earlier, and the C14 date represents its last use phase. *RA2-D* was likely built already in the 14th century or even earlier, and used simultaneously with *RA2-E*.

The two buildings discussed above likely belonged to the same farmstead, as they were located only a metre from each other, corner to corner. *Building RA3-A*, situated north of these two buildings, may have been a separate kitchen belonging to the same farmstead, or a dwelling house of another farm. A piece of decorated ceramics, a shard possibly originating from a Pingsdorf ware vessel, was found in *building RA2-E*, which may have been the dwelling house of the farmstead.

It has also been discussed if some of the pits dating to the earliest settlement phase of the plot, located just west of *building RA3-A*, may have been medieval graves.⁶⁶⁶ However, no evidence confirming this was found during the excavation, and the form and orientation of the pits differ from known medieval village cemeteries. Still, as the early medieval layers of the plot were not excavated completely,⁶⁶⁷ other types of structures, like graves, may have been left outside the excavated area.

Second phase, late 14th to mid-16th century

Several later medieval buildings were also excavated in Mäkkylä (Fig. 8.5), and some of the earlier buildings in the eastern part of the plot were likely still used at least in the 14th century. One of the buildings founded in the late 14th or early 15th century, *RA2-C*, was located corner to corner with the early medieval building *RA2-E* in the eastern part of the plot, which might indicate that they were at least partly contemporary. Based on the finds, *building RA2-D* was also still used in the 14th century and possibly even in the 15th century.

The small oven of *building RA2-C* was quite well preserved (Fig. 8.6), and there were cultural layers connected to it. No clear wall structures were found, so they had either been

⁶⁶³ 15C/ 1110.

⁶⁶⁴ ark-byroo 2016: 40–41.

⁶⁶⁵ ark-byroo 2016: 40–41. 15C/1104.

⁶⁶⁶ Gestrin 2016.

⁶⁶⁷ Gestrin 2016.

► Fig. 8.5 15th century buildings in Mäkkylä. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

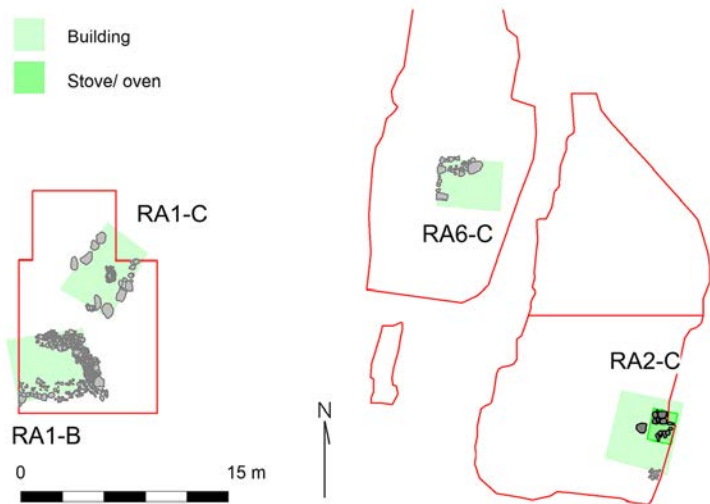
▼ Fig. 8.6 Oven of the building RA2-C. Photo ark-byroo.

quite lightly founded or later land use had destroyed them. Based on the cultural layer, the building was little over 20 m² in size, although its easternmost part was left outside the excavated area. The oven was likely located close to the eastern wall of the building, and it seems to have been a dry-stone built *kiuasuni*, which differs from the typical ovens built in Uusimaa in the Late Middle Ages.⁶⁶⁸

Based on the finds, the building was used from the 14th to 16th century, possibly all the way until the plot was deserted, as the finds include a coin minted in the late 16th century.⁶⁶⁹ There is also a large number of redware ceramics among the material, mainly originating from tripod pipkins. The building was likely used for dwelling, as besides the ceramics, there were several personal items among the finds, including a decorated belt buckle and a decorated strap end.

The finds also contained a few pieces of glass, originating either from a window or a lantern.

By the 15th century, the settlement had expanded to the western part of the plot, about 30 metres from the oldest buildings. There, remains of at least two buildings dating to the 15th and 16th centuries were excavated. The buildings probably belonged to a single farmstead, as they were located just two metres apart, corner to corner. The western one of the buildings, *RA1-B*, had wide wall foundations laid of small stones and earth (Fig. 8.7). According to a C14 date, the southern wall foundation dated likely to the 15th or early 16th century. No fireplace was found in the building, but there might have been one in the unexcavated eastern end. As the cultural layers connected to the building were mainly left un-



⁶⁶⁸ ark-byroo 2016: 44–45; Mikkanen 2017: 8–11.

⁶⁶⁹ ark-byroo 2016: 43–46.



Fig. 8.7 Southern wall of the building RA1-B. Photo ark-byroo.

excavated, the function of the building could not be determined.⁶⁷⁰

Another building, *RA1-C*, which had been badly damaged by a younger building, was located north-east of *RA1-B*. Only the south-west part of *RA1-C* was excavated. Parts of stone foundations belonging to three of the walls were found, but no fireplace was

identified. As the cultural layers were mixed with those belonging to the younger building, the exact date and function of the building could not be determined. Still, as it predated the building used in the 16th and 17th centuries, it had likely been in use in the 15th or early 16th century.⁶⁷¹

Remains of another, even more badly damaged building, *RA6-C*, were found in the middle part of the plot. This building had also been destroyed by a later building, and only part of its north-western corner could be discerned. No cultural layers belonging to *RA6-C* were identified, so the function and the dating of the building remain open. Still, it was likely older than mid-16th century, as a building used in the late 16th and 17th centuries was located on top of *RA6-C*.⁶⁷² It also seems to have been located partly on top of the 13th century building *RA3-A*, which would suggest it to be younger than this. It is unclear, if *RA6-C* was an outbuilding belonging to one of the two above mentioned farmsteads, or if there was another farmstead in the central part of the plot.

It seems, that in the 15th century there were at least two farmsteads in the village, both of which had a minimum of two buildings. Except for the wall constructions, the buildings were poorly preserved, so it is hard to say if they were built following the same traditions. Only one dry-stone built oven was found, so if there had been ovens in the other buildings, these were left outside the excavated area or had been dismantled when the buildings were left out of use. Burnt clay was found in some layers, suggesting that there might have also been ovens constructed with clay and stones.

The find material from the eastern farmstead was more varied at this point, and it included shards belonging to one proto-stoneware vessel from the 14th century and two or three stoneware vessels dating from the mid-14th to early 17th century. These were found in the buildings and the yard between them. In addition, a decorated belt buckle and a decorated strap end were found in one of the buildings belonging to the eastern farmstead, and most of the horse equipment were concentrated around the same building. The only shard of stoneware found in the western farmstead dates to second half of the 16th century at the

⁶⁷⁰ ark-byroo 2016: 31–32; 15C/1107.

⁶⁷¹ ark-byroo 2016: 27–28.

⁶⁷² ark-byroo 2016:

earliest. It seems that the eastern farmstead, which had been founded already during the earliest settlement phase of the village, was somewhat wealthier than the new farmstead founded west of it.

Final phase, mid-16th to early 17th century

Six or seven of the excavated buildings belong to the last settlement phase of the village in the 16th and early 17th century (Fig. 8.8). At this point, the buildings seem to have been concentrated along a road passing the village plot in the south. The westernmost of the buildings, building *RA4-A*,⁶⁷³ was located in the north-western corner of the excavated area. Only part of the building's large oven was excavated, so the function or exact dating of the building could not be determined. Still, based on the construction of the oven and the location of the building, it likely belonged to the last settlement phase of the site.⁶⁷⁴

Another building, *RA1-A*, was found east of *RA4-A*. The building was only partially excavated, but it seems to have been oriented north-south, differing from other contemporary buildings which were mostly oriented east-west. It also appeared to be exceptionally large, as the western wall may have been 10–12 metres long. If the building was this large, it could have had more than one rooms. Still, as the stratigraphy of the site was challenging, it is also possible that parts of several buildings were documented belonging to *RA1-A*. A large oven was located next to the southern wall of the building. Based on the finds and stratigraphy, the building dated from the 16th to 17th century,⁶⁷⁵ and the oven and the finds suggest that it was a dwelling house.

One of the late medieval or early modern buildings, *RA2-A*, was found in the south-eastern part of the excavated area, where the first farmstead on the site was also located. There was a large oven in the southern part of the building, and remains of a wooden floor founded on a

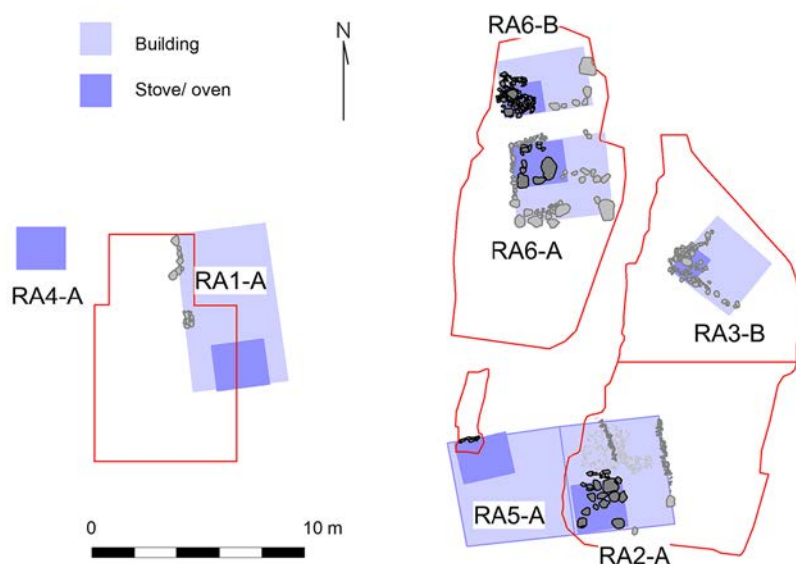


Fig 8.8 Late medieval and early modern buildings excavated in Mäkkylä. Map Tuuli Heinen.

⁶⁷³ This building was not numbered during the excavations report, but a number according to the same logic as used with the other building remains on the excavations has been given to it here.

⁶⁷⁴ ark-byroo 2016: 66.

⁶⁷⁵ ark-byroo 2016: 26–27.

layer of small stones were found north and east of the oven. The building likely dates to the late 16th century, as it was lined along the same road as other early modern buildings at the site and had a similar large oven. Furthermore, a coin minted in the 1570s was found in the floor layer.⁶⁷⁶ Based on the finds, the building was a dwelling house. It may have been occupied even after the village was deserted, as a C14 date obtained from the oven most likely dated to the 17th century.⁶⁷⁷ There was one tenant living in Mäkkylä in 1630s,⁶⁷⁸ and RA2-A might have been occupied by him at this point.

The older building RA2-C in the easternmost part of the excavated area may have been used even after RA2-A was built. As the decorated strap end found in the older building dates to late 16th century, it is likely that the buildings were at least partly contemporary. The older building may have acted as a kitchen at this point, as the finds include a large number of redware ceramics originating from pipkins.

Another oven, R5-4, was found just 6–7 metres west of RA2-A. Only a small part of the oven and the layers connected to it were excavated but based on the structure and the finds around it, the oven belonged to a building dating to the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶⁷⁹ Due to the close location of RA2-A and R5-4, and the same direction of their northern walls, it is possible that these formed a two-roomed cottage with two heated rooms. As only a very small part of RA5-4 was excavated and the area between the buildings or rooms was destroyed by a modern road, the interpretation remains uncertain. RA2-A, which would have been the eastern room, measured at least 50 m², so if the building was a two-roomed cottage, it covered an area of at least 110 m².

Besides the three or four buildings lined along the road, three additional buildings belonging to the last phase of the village were found in the northern part of the excavated area. The south-western one of these, RA6-A, had a large oven on the north-western corner. Remains of a burnt floor south of the oven and foundations for all four walls were partly preserved and based on them the building was 5.5 by 7 metres in size. A coin minted in 1599 was found in the floor layer,⁶⁸⁰ and this, together with other finds, suggests that the building was used in the late 16th and early 17th century, during the last settlement phase on the plot.

The function of the building could not be determined, but the finds included three cloth seals and some whetstones and knives, which might indicate that the building was used for handicrafts or storing goods. However, most of the window glass found in Mäkkylä was found in connection to this building, and glass windows would likely have been first purchased for dwelling houses, not storage buildings. Interestingly, the oven construction was different from most of the other late medieval or early modern dwelling houses on the site, as the top of the oven had apparently been laid dry of stones.⁶⁸¹ Compared to ovens with the top laid of stones with clay or mortar, this type of oven would let more smoke into the room.⁶⁸² It is possible that building RA6-A had some other function than the buildings with ovens laid with clay and stones. On the other hand, the earlier building RA2-C had a similar oven construction showing that dry-laid ovens had been used in medieval dwelling

⁶⁷⁶ ark-byroo 2016: 37–40; KM 40409: 176.

⁶⁷⁷ 15C/ 1103

⁶⁷⁸ KA 7879: 218r.

⁶⁷⁹ ark-byroo 2016: 67–68.

⁶⁸⁰ ark-byroo 2016: 70–75; KM 40409: 657.

⁶⁸¹ ark-byroo 2016: 70–75.

⁶⁸² Mikkanen 2017: 8–11.

houses in Mäkkylä. Possibly the oven in *building RA6-A* shows that the old building tradition was still sometimes followed in the village during the late 16th century, despite other types of ovens having been introduced. Just three metres south of building a thick layer of soil containing a number of medieval finds surrounded a large boulder. The area may have been used as a dump where waste was systematically collected throughout the period when the plot was occupied.

Another building, *RA6-B*, was found just two metres north of *RA6-A*. The foundations for the southern and western walls of the building had been laid of large stones placed loosely in rows. In the south-western corner, there was a stone setting which may have been an oven foundation. No cultural layer was found in connection to the building, and therefore its function and dating could not be determined. However, as it was located next to *RA6-A* and oriented the same way, the two buildings were likely contemporary, dating to the late 16th or early 17th century.⁶⁸³ Based on the lack of finds, *RA6-B* was likely an outbuilding.

The third building, *RA3-B*, was located 5 metres east of *RA6-A*. Parts of the stone foundation for the north and west walls of the building surrounded a cultural layer containing a large amount of charred wood, likely the remains of a burnt floor. A stone structure found in the north-western corner of the building was interpreted as a stove,⁶⁸⁴ but it could not be excavated due to a large tree stump covering it. Possibly the structure was part of the wall foundation and the fireplace was actually located on the eastern end of the building, where a stove (*R3-3*) that could not be connected to other buildings was excavated. All the structures in this part of the plot had been damaged by later activities in the area, making interpretations difficult. A C14 date from the charred wood most likely places the floor in the 16th or 17th century.⁶⁸⁵ As there were very few finds connected to the floor layer or the stove (*R3-3*) in the eastern part of the building, it was likely an outbuilding used in the last settlement phase of the village.

It is difficult to determine when the buildings belonging to the last settlement phase in Mäkkylä were founded, but it is possible that this happened after the raid in 1577, as the list describing the losses is noted to list the farmsteads which were burnt and robbed (*brendde och rappade*). However, based on the archaeological evidence the only buildings which seem to have been burnt are one of the oldest buildings in the village, *RA2-E*, and *building RA6-A*, which was likely burnt in the 17th century. Still, it is possible that the raid damaged the buildings so badly that they were rebuilt afterwards.

The late medieval buildings excavated in Mäkkylä likely belonged to two or three separate farmsteads, two of them located in the same places as the farmsteads of the previous centuries, and one possibly in the northern part of the plot. In addition, the oven in the north-western corner of the plot may have belonged to an additional farmstead, but this remains unclear. Based on the finds, similar objects were used at both the western and eastern farmsteads. Some of the stoneware and personal objects found at the eastern farmstead suggest that it may have been somewhat wealthier during the early modern period, like in the 15th and early 16th centuries. At both farmsteads, the oven constructions followed a similar tradition of laying the structure with clay. This may have been a new innovation in Mäkkylä around this time, as older ovens following this tradition were not found. There is also some

⁶⁸³ ark-byroo 2016: 77–79.

⁶⁸⁴ ark-byroo 2016: 55–56.

⁶⁸⁵ 15C/1101.

indication that the main buildings at both farmsteads had two rooms at this point, but this is uncertain due to the restricted extent of the excavated areas and preservation issues.

The northern farmstead, on the other hand, was very different from the two others at this point. *Building RA-6A* followed a different building tradition than the other main buildings, as it had only one room and a dry-stone oven. At the same time, it seems to have been the only building with glass windows in the village. However, as *RA-6A* was likely destroyed in a fire, the windows may have been broken and the shards left behind, unlike unbroken windows of other buildings which may have been dismantled when the plot was abandoned. Very few objects were found in building *RA6-A*, but a possible waste heap south of the building contained a large number of pottery shards. These may have been cleaned from the building, suggesting that the waste may have been handled differently at this farmstead than the two others.

8.3 MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the contexts in Mäkkylä are quite mixed, it is possible to connect most of the finds to the medieval and early modern settlement on the site (Table 8.2). Clearly younger finds, as well as a large number of metal finds such as nails and unidentified fragments, were disposed of during the excavation project after being catalogued,⁶⁸⁶ and these finds have not been included in this analysis. Therefore, finds such as horseshoe nails and nails connected to building are underrepresented here. In addition, finds that are clearly younger than the early 17th century, such as pieces of glass bottles and later coins, have been excluded from the analysis. Some of the fragmented metal objects may also be younger than the village settlement, but these mostly fall into the “unidentified” category.

Object groups	No
Building and living	425
Cooking and tableware	503
Personal objects and clothing	65
Handicrafts	58
Hunting and Fishing	2
Horses and riding equipment	15
Trade	5
Religion and folkbeliefs	2

Table 8.2 Finds related to different object categories in Mäkkylä. No – Number of fragments

Building and living

In Mäkkylä, the finds connected to building and living consist mainly of flint flakes, iron objects, and window glass (Table 8.3). The iron objects are mainly nails, rods and different kinds of plates and fittings, but there are also examples of other types of objects. There are two iron padlocks,⁶⁸⁷ one cylindrical and the other triangular, among the finds, as well as the bit of a large key.⁶⁸⁸ Based on their sizes, both padlocks and the key were used for doors or large chests. The window glass in Mäkkylä seems to concentrate around two buildings, *building RA2-A* and *building RA6-A*. At least some of the fragments are from rhomb-shaped

⁶⁸⁶ ark-byroo 2016: 559–786.

⁶⁸⁷ KM 40409: 442, 569.

⁶⁸⁸ KM 40409: 177.

panes with grozed edges. Both buildings were used during the last settlement phase of the village in the 16th and early 17th centuries, so it seems likely that the first glass windows in the village date to this period. The small number of fragments (55) might be explained by the villagers taking any unbroken panes with them when they left the village. It has also been suggested that at least some of the shards might belong to a lantern.⁶⁸⁹

Table culture and cooking

Ceramics

Almost half of the total ceramic material in Mäkkylä consists of low-fired earthenware, but the number of vessels might be quite small, possibly only between 10 and 20 vessels (Table 8.4). This group contains different types of ceramics with possibly different origins. Most of the shards belong to hand-formed vessels with quite straight walls that are slightly profiled inwards from the neck and have a straight rim (Fig. 8.9).⁶⁹⁰ The clay in these vessels is typically dark brown, sometimes even black, and the surfaces are often darker than the clay. These vessels resemble the Iron Age-type pottery used in other areas of Finland until the 14th century,⁶⁹¹ and likely represent the same tradition. This type of ceramics was mostly concentrated in the north-eastern part of the plot, and are possibly related to an early medieval kitchen building (Fig. 8.10).

There are also shards belonging to vessels which resemble ceramics manufactured in north-western Russia.⁶⁹² Among these are at least one vessel likely dating to the 11th or 12th century,⁶⁹³ two or three dating to the 12th or 13th century,⁶⁹⁴ and one from the 13th to the 15th century.⁶⁹⁵ These vessels have a profiled rim, and some shards have straight lines on the outside.⁶⁹⁶ Vessels belonging to this group have been manufactured on a wheel. Some of the vessels have had flat bottoms, but there are also shards belonging to low-fired earthenware

Building and living	No
Clasp	1
Iron fitting	5
Flint	294
Key	1
Lead came	1
Padlock	2
Plate	21
Quartz	28
Rivet	4
Rod	11
Stove tile	1
Strike-a-light steel	1
Window glass	55

Table 8.3 Finds related to building and living in Mäkkylä.

Table culture and cooking	No
Copper alloy cauldron	8
Chain for hanging a cauldron	2
Earthenware	226
Glass beaker	7
High-fired greyware	1
Hook for hanging a cauldron	2
Redware	246
Stoneware	8
Table knife	3
Whiteware	1

Table 8.4 Finds related to table culture and cooking in Mäkkylä.

⁶⁸⁹ ark-byroo 2016.

⁶⁹⁰ E.g. KM40409: 180, 301, 355, 412, 418, 445, 495.

⁶⁹¹ Compare, e.g., to Luoto 1984a: 117, 228, group VFH; Adel 2011: 32.

⁶⁹² See Tvauri 2000: 97–105.

⁶⁹³ KM 40409: 454; compare to Tvauri 2000: 97–98; see also Enqvist 2004, Appendix 7.

⁶⁹⁴ KM 40409: 241, 764; compare to Tvauri 2000: 99–100.

⁶⁹⁵ KM 40409: 767; compare to Tvauri 2000: 104–105.

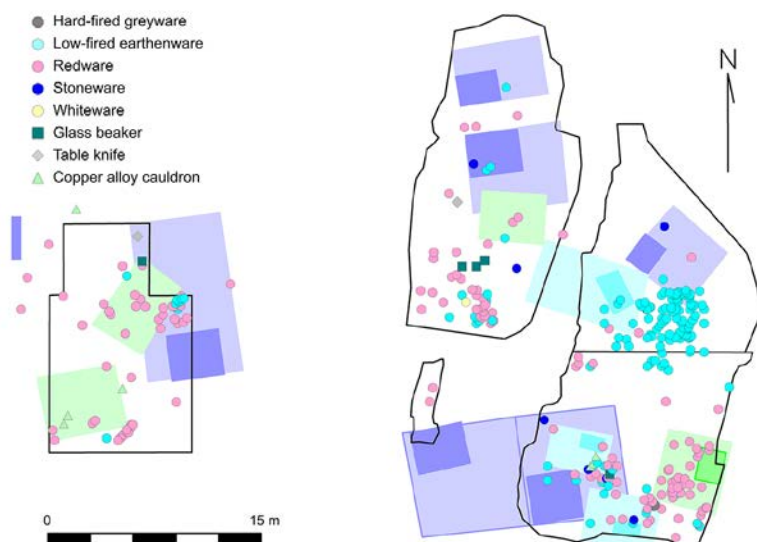
⁶⁹⁶ E.g. KM 40409: 241, 764.



Fig. 8.9 Low-fired earthenware ceramics resembling Finnish iron-age-type ceramics from Mäkkylä. KM 40409: 495. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

tripod feet.⁶⁹⁷ Based on the contexts, most of the low-fired earthenware found in Mäkkylä dates to the 12th and 13th centuries, but it was possibly used even in the 14th century. The shape of the vessels suggests that they were mainly used for cooking, and many of the vessels have been charred by fire.

Among the ceramic finds from Mäkkylä, there is also a piece of hard-fired greyware decorated with painted red lines on the outside (Fig. 8.11).⁶⁹⁸ This piece resembles Pingsdorf ware manufactured in Western Europe between the late 9th and 13th centuries,⁶⁹⁹ and it might be an example of early imported ceramics in Uusimaa. The shards belonging to five or six medieval or early modern stoneware vessels found in Mäkkylä clearly represent imported ceramics. One of these is likely proto-stoneware manufactured in northern Germany in the 14th century, while two of the other shards belong to one or two vessels manufactured in Siegburg in the 14th to 16th centuries; furthermore, one is from a pitcher manufactured in Waldenburg between the 15th and the 17th century and two shards belong to a decorated *bartman* jug manufactured in Köln or Frechen in the 16th or 17th century.⁷⁰⁰ There is also one unidentified shard, which is likely late medieval.⁷⁰¹



About half of the overall ceramic material in Mäkkylä originates from redware vessels. Most of the shards belong to late medieval tripod pipkins or pans, with a lead glaze on the inside. One shard with green glaze on the outside might be older, dating to the 13th or 14th century.⁷⁰² Shards of two undecorated redware bowls were also found,

Fig. 8.10 Distribution of finds related to table culture and cooking in Mäkkylä. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

⁶⁹⁷ KM 40409: 338, 473; e.g. KM 40409: 470.

⁶⁹⁸ KM 40409: 281.

⁶⁹⁹ Pihlman 1995: 17, 182; Lüdtke & Shnietzel 2001: 978–979.

⁷⁰⁰ ark-byroo 2016: 87; KM40409: 360; KM 40409: 293, 349; KM 40409: 574; KM 40409: 5, 727.

⁷⁰¹ KM 40409: 250.

⁷⁰² ark-byroo 2016: 87; KM40409: 761.



Fig. 8.11 Hard-fired greyware ceramics with painted decoration on the outside. KM 40409: 281. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

and some shards belong to a bowl with a simple *bolus* decoration consisting of wavy lines.⁷⁰³ Among the material there is also one whiteware bowl with green glaze on the inside.⁷⁰⁴ All three bowls likely date to the late 16th or early 17th century.⁷⁰⁵

Other tableware

No clearly medieval glass vessels have been identified among the finds from Mäkkylä, but there are five shards which likely originate from *passglas* vessels and date to the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.⁷⁰⁶ Other tableware found in Mäkkylä includes two table knives and a bronze fitting originating from a table knife.⁷⁰⁷ There are also several pieces from cooking pots, some of them made of copper alloy and some from iron, and a chain and a hook used for hanging pots, found next to the oven of building RA6-A.⁷⁰⁸ In the list of the losses caused by the Russian troops in 1577,⁷⁰⁹ two pots and two kettles are mentioned among the stolen items, but no other kitchen equipment or tableware is listed.

Personal objects and clothing

Most of the personal objects found in Mäkkylä are small fittings made of copper alloy, which are difficult to date (Table 8.5; Fig. 8.12). Some of these items may belong to horse equipment as well. However, there are also some more exceptional items among the finds, like a cross-shaped chain holder (Fig. 8.13). A similar object has been found in the Tuukkala cemetery in Mikkeli, Eastern Finland, used from the 13th to the 15th century.⁷¹⁰ The pendant likely originates from Latvia, where similar objects were cast in the 12th and 13th cen-

Personal objects and clothing	No
Belt buckle	1
Copper alloy dress fastener	1
Copper alloy finger ring	1
Copper alloy fitting	19
Copper alloy plate	23
Copper alloy ring	2
Copper alloy rod	2
Copper alloy strap end	1
Glass bead	1
Iron buckle	4
Lead or tin pendant	2
Lead or tin plate	1
Lead or tin rod	2
Lead or tin strap end	1
Lead seal	3
Silver pendant	1

Table 8.5 Finds related to personal objects and clothing in Mäkkylä.

⁷⁰³ KM 40409: 267, 585, 589.

⁷⁰⁴ KM 40409: 631.

⁷⁰⁵ Compare to e.g. Niukkanen 1994: 316, 319.

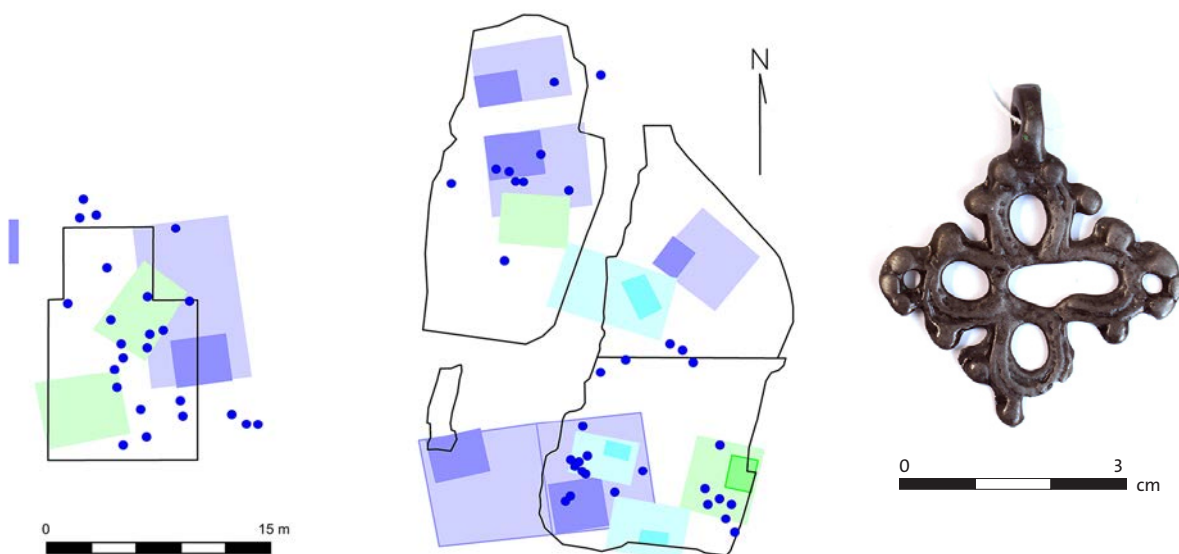
⁷⁰⁶ KM 40409: 81, 647, 770.

⁷⁰⁷ KM 40409: 51, 572, 736.

⁷⁰⁸ KM 40409: 127, 302, 22, 91, 93, 296, 297; KM 40409: 620, 738, 756.

⁷⁰⁹ KA 161, 5r–6v.

⁷¹⁰ Kivikoski 1973: 138, Tafel 123, Abb. 1115; Purhonen 1998: 85; Mikkola 2009: 184; KM 40409: 440.



◀ Fig. 8.12 Distribution of finds related to personal objects and clothing in Mäkkylä. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

▶ Fig. 8.13 Late Iron Age or early medieval chain holder. KM 40409: 440. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

turies.⁷¹¹ Other pieces of jewellery found in Mäkkylä include a finger ring and two simple lead pendants, all of which are difficult to date.⁷¹²

The finds related to clothing include a decorated two-part copper alloy belt buckle (Fig. 8.14).⁷¹³ A similar type of object dated to the late 16th century has been found in Amsterdam,⁷¹⁴ and the buckle from Mäkkylä likely dates to the late 16th century as well. Other finds include a decorated strap end mount made of lead or tin alloy, a small copper alloy dress-fastener, and a number of fragments of different kinds of mounts and fittings, originating from either clothing or horse equipment.⁷¹⁵ There are also four simple iron buckles, which are hard to date exactly.

There is some evidence of imported cloth from Mäkkylä. The material includes three lead cloth seals, and the two above mentioned lead pendants may also be modified seals.⁷¹⁶ All of these bear a similar stamp with two keys, which was used for cloth produced in the Neustadt of Salzwedel in Germany around 1600–1670.⁷¹⁷



Fig. 8.14 A late medieval or early modern decorated belt buckle. KM 40409: 260. Photo Tuuli Heinonen.

⁷¹¹ Mugurēvičs 1974: 224 Abb 1: 22, 238; Purhonen 1998: 84–85.

⁷¹² KM 40409: 18, 185, 783.

⁷¹³ KM 40409: 260; Harjula, pers comm. 27.1.2020.

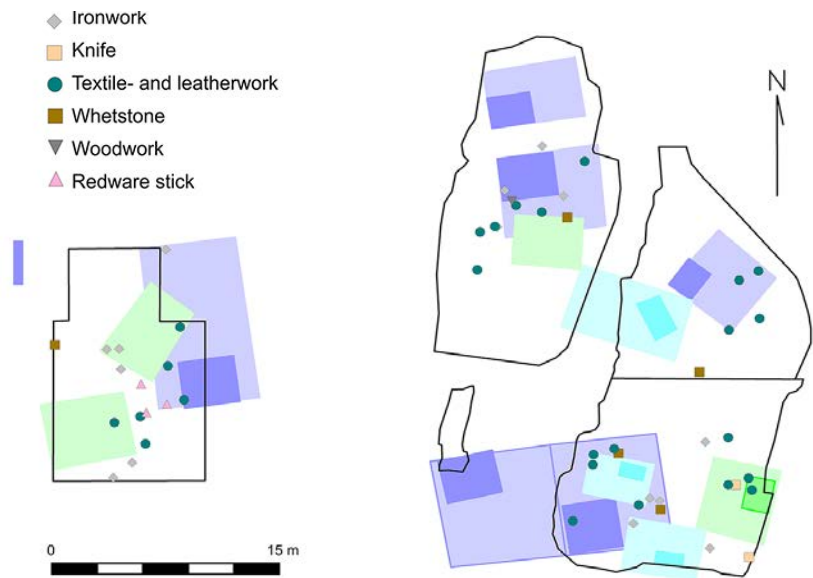
⁷¹⁴ Willemsen & Ernst 2012, fig. 132.

⁷¹⁵ KM 40409: 186; KM 40409: 230.

⁷¹⁶ KM 40409: 568, 782, 788, possibly also 185, 783.

⁷¹⁷ van Oostveen 2018: catalogue numbers 24–33. Pers. comm. Julius Eerola 21.9.2019.

Fig. 8.15 Distribution of finds related to handicrafts in Mäkkylä. Map Tuuli Heinenen.



Similar seals have been found in Old Helsinki,⁷¹⁸ and it is possible that the cloth was purchased there. The list of items stolen by the Russian troops in 1577 also includes textiles: 17 different pieces of clothing or bed covers and both goat and sheep skins were taken from Mäkkylä.⁷¹⁹ The most varied items were stolen

from Sigfred Persson, whose losses included 12 ells of *walmar* cloth and one *kledeskor-till*. Two pieces of outer garments stolen from Anders Persson are mentioned to have been equipped with buckles. The list is a good example of how archaeological finds only offer a glimpse of the material culture, especially when organic materials are in question.

Handicrafts

In Mäkkylä, half of the finds connected to handicrafts are whetstones (Table 8.6; Fig. 8.15). Most of them are made of slate, but there are also some examples possibly made of sandstone. Knives with a tang are another large find group, and there is also one iron chape coated with copper alloy,⁷²⁰ which has belonged to the sheath of a knife or a dagger. The two iron needles in the find material were used for sewing. Most other finds are tools connected to woodworking, such as a drill and a hammer. The list of the items stolen by the Russian troops in 1577⁷²¹ also includes three axes and a wide-bladed woodworking axe.⁷²² The villagers also used their woodworking skills outside the village. In 1565 and 1566, two of them were paid for day labour they had done when building ships

Handicrafts	No
Auger	2
Hammer	1
Iron bar	1
Knife	14
Knife chape	1
Iron needle	2
Tool with a blade	1
Redware stick	3
Spokeshave	1
Whetstone	32

Table 8.6 Finds related to handicrafts in Mäkkylä.

⁷¹⁸ Taavitsainen 1994: 353, 357.

⁷¹⁹ These include 3 *ryor*, 9 *weipor*, 1 *kopå med spänne*, 1 *kiortell med spänne*, 5 *bocksinn*, 8 *fårskin*, 1 *ny kopå*, 2 *ny klädskiortell*, and 12 *alner walmar*; KA 161: 5r-6v.

⁷²⁰ KM 40409: 148.

⁷²¹ KA 161: 5r-6v.

⁷²² *Timberbila*; see SAOB *bila*.

in Helsinki for the Crown.⁷²³ During these two years, Morten Jönsson spent altogether 105 days at the boat yard, which meant a considerable amount of time away from the everyday tasks at his farm. It also suggests that he may have been quite skilled at his work.

Besides woodworking and sewing, another type of activity possibly undertaken in Mäkkylä is iron work. There is one fragment which might originate from an iron bar, and about 10.6 kilograms of slag was found during the excavation. However, no structures belonging to a smithy have been identified with certainty, so if there was a smithy in the village it was likely located outside the excavated area. An interesting exception among the finds are three redware sticks, which are about the size of a finger. These resemble the pieces used for test-firing pottery ovens.⁷²⁴ As there are no known redware production sites in Uusimaa in the medieval or early modern period, the origin and function of these finds remain open.

Livelihoods

No objects found in Mäkkylä can be connected to agriculture, although both macrofossil and osteological analysis as well as the written sources from the 16th century show that it was the most important livelihood in the village during the medieval and early modern periods. The list of the items the Russian troops stole in 1577⁷²⁵ mentions nine scythes, with six of them belonging to a single farm. However, a number of finds are connected

to horses (Table 8.7), although many of these were disposed of after cataloguing. There are fragments of both normal horseshoes and ice shoes. Some of the finds, such as two fragments of bits and three fragments likely originating from spurs, are connected to riding.⁷²⁶ In 1571,⁷²⁷ the three wealthiest farms owned horses in Mäkkylä. Anders Persson and Oluf Michelsson both had one, and Hans Hendersson had two horses. The villagers also had altogether 16 cows or heifers and 31 sheep, as well as one pig and four goats (Table 8.8). By

Horses and riding equipment	No
Bit fragment	2
Horseshoe	5
Ice shoe	4
Spur fragment	4

Table 8.7 Finds related to horses and riding in Mäkkylä.

Peasant	Cows	1-year-old cows	Sheep	Pigs	Goats	Horses
Oluff Michelson	2		2			1
Hans Hendrichson	4	1	10		2	1
Anders Persson	2		4			
Siffred Persson	2	2	8		2	2
Morthen Iönsson	2	1	7	1		

Table 8.8 The amount of cattle owned by the villagers in 1571.

⁷²³ KA 3262: 38r, 39r; KA 3277: 125v.

⁷²⁴ ark-byroo 2016: 87; KM 40409: 26, 110, 121.

⁷²⁵ KA 161: 5r-6v.

⁷²⁶ KM 40409: 55, 146, 437, 581, 659.

⁷²⁷ KA 3324: 75r.

1600, the number of livestock had decreased a bit. When an additional tax⁷²⁸ was collected in 1600, the number of cows and heifers was still 16 and the number of horses was four, but the peasants owned just nine sheep. All of these animals are visible in the osteological material as well.⁷²⁹

Other finds connected to subsistence are also rare and include only two arrowheads, which may have been used for hunting. However, these are crossbow arrowheads, so it is also possible that they are connected to military use and thus do not have much to do with subsistence.⁷³⁰ There is only little evidence of hunting or fishing in the osteological material as well,⁷³¹ suggesting that these were either not practised extensively or the caught animals were processed elsewhere. The villagers likely did some fishing, as a land survey from 1556 noted that the village had satisfactory possibilities for fishing,⁷³² and at least one of the villagers paid some taxes in herring in 1559.⁷³³

Other finds

Other finds from Mäkkylä include two Stone Age stone objects, one of them a curved chisel and the other a broken axe.⁷³⁴ The objects were likely brought to the village during the Middle Ages as they were found in medieval contexts. There are several Stone Age settlement sites in the vicinity,⁷³⁵ and the objects might come from one of these, although there may have been a site somewhere on the Puustellinmäki hill as well. Stone Age objects were concealed in buildings in Finland during the Iron Age and historical times, and they were meant to protect buildings and help in different tasks.⁷³⁶ It is possible that the two objects found in Mäkkylä were brought to the village for a similar purpose. In addition, altogether five coins were among the finds, four of them dating to the second half of the 16th century and one possibly being somewhat older and dating to the late 15th or early 16th century.⁷³⁷

8.4 MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SETTLEMENT IN MÄKKYLÄ – A SUMMARY

Based on archaeological evidence, Mäkkylä was founded by the early 13th century, during the period when Swedish colonists were arriving in Uusimaa. However, based on the name of the village, the first settlers in Mäkkylä were likely Finnish-speaking. The finds connected to the earliest settlement phase consist mainly of Finnish Iron Age-type pottery, and they include a cross-shaped chain holder typical of Finnish-speaking areas, so the material culture also points in this direction. During the first settlement phase, there was possibly

⁷²⁸ KA 3486: 262r-263v.

⁷²⁹ Karhu in ark-byroo 2016: 932–943.

⁷³⁰ Terävä 2015: 118.

⁷³¹ Karhu in ark-byroo 2016: 932–943.

⁷³² KA 3044: 39v.

⁷³³ KA 3146: 6r.

⁷³⁴ KM 40409: 648, 792.

⁷³⁵ ark-byroo 2016: 12.

⁷³⁶ Hukantaival 2016: 181–185.

⁷³⁷ ark-byroo 2016: 86. KM 40409: 118, 176, 183, 657; KM 40409: 15.

just one farmstead with several buildings on the plot, but by the 15th century the number had increased to at least two, one at the eastern end of the plot and the other at the western end. In addition, there may have been a third farmstead in the northern part of the village. There are some differences between the material culture and buildings of the different farmsteads, and it seems that the eastern farmstead may have been slightly wealthier than the others. However, the differences are not notable until the last phase of the village, when the dwelling house of the northernmost farmstead differed clearly from those of the two other farmsteads. The reasons for this are unclear, but they may be more connected to different building traditions being preferred at different farmsteads than differences in wealth.

In the 16th century, Mäkkylä was not a wealthy village, and in 1571 the value of property of only one of the farms exceeded the median wealth in the parish. A raid by Russian troops in 1577 impoverished the village further, and the loss of a great deal of property along with 22 inhabitants ended up being a fatal blow to the village. It seems that the village was largely rebuilt after the raid, as the youngest buildings at the site date to the late 16th century. The farms struggled for the rest of the century, with many of them losing the ability to pay taxes. Eventually, all the farms fell into the hands of the mayor of Helsinki, Hans Olsson, who after purchasing all the farms founded a manor in Mäkkylä. The peasants seem to have left the village soon after this, as in the 1630s only one tenant was left besides the inhabitants of the manor.

9 LILLAS – A FARM IN MÅRTENSBY

Mårtensby is located in western Vantaa, on the west bank of the river Vantaa. The name Mårtensby comes from the Swedish personal name Mårten, and the place names in the village area are almost entirely Swedish. Based on this, Saulo Kepsu has suggested that the village was founded by Swedish colonists sometime during the Middle Ages.⁷³⁸ Still, there are some Finnish names in the neighbouring villages, especially in Tavastby,⁷³⁹ so it is possible that there was land use in the area of Mårtensby before the colonisation period as well.

On the oldest map of Mårtensby from 1699 (Fig. 9.1),⁷⁴⁰ the farms of the village are spread out on three separate plots. The northern plot in the middle of the fields is shared by the Gusbacka and Smeds farms, and the plot west of the fields by the Bulders and Nybacka farms. The Lillas farm is located alone on the southern plot in the middle of the fields.⁷⁴¹ Besides the five farms located in Mårtensby, there were two farms in the neighbouring hamlet of Kvarnbacka, which was counted as a part of Mårtensby in the earliest tax books but became a separate village by the late 17th century.⁷⁴²

Based on historical maps, it is possible to determine quite precisely when the different plots in the village were abandoned. On the map from 1769/1797–1798,⁷⁴³ the two old plots located in the middle of the fields are still occupied. On the next map from 1861,⁷⁴⁴ there are only some outbuildings left on the plots, and the farms have moved to new locations in the western part of the village, showing that the old plots were deserted during the first half of the 19th century.



Fig. 9.1 The map from 1699 shows how the farms in Mårtensby were located on several plots. Excavated plot of the farm Lillas circled in red. Map National Archives of Finland.

⁷³⁸ Kepsu 2005: 131–133.

⁷³⁹ Kepsu 2005: 71, 165–170.

⁷⁴⁰ Broterus 1699; see also Giöcker 1725 for the names of the farms.

⁷⁴¹ Kepsu 2005: 131.

⁷⁴² Heinonen & Koivisto 2012: 261–262.

⁷⁴³ Bonej & Winter 1769/ 1797–1798.

⁷⁴⁴ Byman 1861.

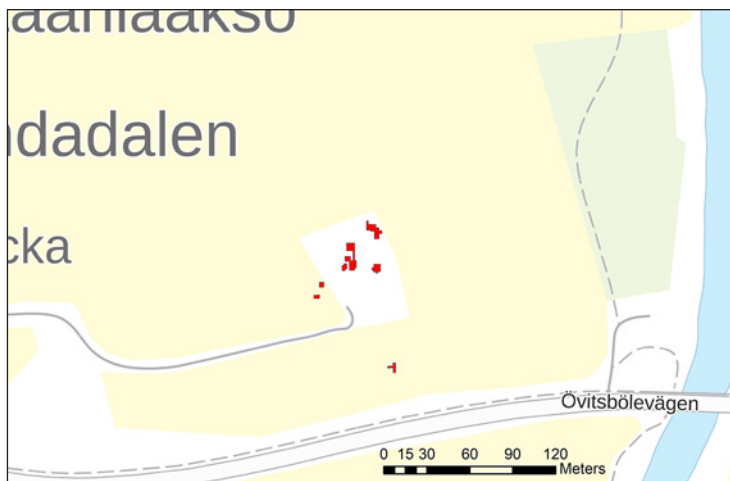


Fig. 9.2 Excavated areas in Mårtensby. Map Tuuli Heinen, background map National Land Survey of Finland.

Some plots could have been partly deserted even before this, as maps show that some of the farms moved several times, and

the number of farms dropped from six to five during the 17th century.

The landscape in Mårtensby has preserved its rural character to this day and the old village fields which surround the deserted plots are still cultivated. The two plots which were located in the middle of the fields on the earliest map, Lillas and Smeds/Gusbacka, have been preserved as small, wooded hills in the middle of the fields. The plots were archaeologically surveyed in 2005,⁷⁴⁵ and in 2011 Vantaa City Museum chose one of them, Lillas, as one of the sites studied during a research project focusing on the Middle Ages in Vantaa. As a result, research excavations were carried out at Lillas during three field seasons in 2011–2013 for altogether four months, and the excavated area covered approximately 220 m² (Fig. 9.2).⁷⁴⁶ So far, the other plots of the village have not been excavated.

During the excavations, several buildings dating from the 15th to the 18th century were found. The first traces of settlement at the site are much older, as the site was settled during the Typical Combed Ware Period (3900–3500 BC).⁷⁴⁷ In addition to the building foundations located on the plot, some stone structures were also found from the fields south and west of the plot, but the dating and function of these could not be determined.⁷⁴⁸

9.1 THE VILLAGE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The name Mårtensby first appears in written sources in 1512,⁷⁴⁹ but one of the inhabitants, Göran Persson Bonde, is mentioned already before this. A letter of judgement from the year 1489 confirms that a meadow in the parish of Helsingå was sold to a *Jöran Peersson*.⁷⁵⁰ The document does not mention where Jöran Persson was from, but the later sources show that the Lillas farm in Mårtensby owned the meadow in the 17th century, and it produced several 15th-century documents as a proof of this during a court case.⁷⁵¹ Therefore, it is probable

⁷⁴⁵ Suhonen 2006.

⁷⁴⁶ Koivisto et al. 2012; Koivisto et al. 2013; Koivisto & Väisänen 2014.

⁷⁴⁷ Koivisto et al. 2013: 72–73.

⁷⁴⁸ Koivisto et al. 2012: 23–30.

⁷⁴⁹ Salminen 2013: 43; TLA, A.f.22: 23v.

⁷⁵⁰ DF 4234.

⁷⁵¹ DF 3902; DF 3952; DF 4169; DF 4234; Porvoon tuomiokunta, I KO a:4: 11–12.

that the Jöran Peersson buying the meadow in 1489 was the same Göran Persson Bonde who was living in Lillas in the early 16th century.

During the first half of the 16th century, Göran Bonde was often mentioned in the account books of the Tallinn merchant Helmich Ficke. According to Ficke's accounts, Göran started doing business with him in 1509, and they continued trading until Ficke's death in 1542.⁷⁵² Göran was not alone in his efforts, and besides a hired skipper in the 1510s, many of his family members and relatives from both Mårtensby and other villages were involved in Göran's trading 'corporation'.⁷⁵³ Tapio Salminen has calculated that from 1509 to 1542, Göran Bonde and his associates brought almost 17,000 kg of salt, 17,000 litres of grain, and over 2,000 kg of iron from Tallinn to Helsinge. Based on this volume of goods, they were responsible for almost half of the total amount of salt and grain and for over 70% of the iron bought from Ficke and brought to the parish.⁷⁵⁴ Such quantity also demonstrates that Göran was specialised in trade. Ficke's account books further show that Göran distributed goods around the whole parish, where he also purchased goods, mostly timber and animal products, for export.⁷⁵⁵ Göran did other business in the parish as well; for example, in 1543 he was taxed for selling beer.⁷⁵⁶ Apparently, in the 1540s a tavern was kept at his farm. Based on the written documents, Göran also tried to increase the amount of land he owned, and besides the above-mentioned meadow, in 1509 he bought a piece of land worth of one quarter of a tax mark from a peasant in Biskopsböle.⁷⁵⁷ It seems that in addition to trade, Göran was willing to invest his wealth in landed property.

Göran Bonde is mentioned in the written sources so often that historian Tapio Salminen has called him the most famous inhabitant of medieval Vantaa.⁷⁵⁸ It is true that the written sources tell much about Göran compared to other peasants from medieval Uusimaa, and he was clearly a well-known person already during his lifetime. Besides being known throughout the parish of Helsinge, he also acted as a witness in at least two letters sent to the city council of Tallinn.⁷⁵⁹ Göran was a good witness, because he was known on both shores of the Gulf of Finland. Gunvor Kerkkonen has noted that even though Göran had skippers working for him, he often travelled to Tallinn himself. Kerkkonen has estimated that in the year 1516, for example, he may have made as many as five trips.⁷⁶⁰

It is unclear for how long the inhabitants of Lillas continued trading with Tallinn merchants. Both Helmich Ficke and Göran Bonde died in the 1540s, Ficke in 1542,⁷⁶¹ and Göran Bonde likely before 1548, when his son Lill Göran was marked on the tithe record instead of him.⁷⁶² The farm's trading activities seem to have continued at least until the early 1570s, because in 1571 Lillas still owned half a ship.⁷⁶³ The other half probably belonged to Henrich

⁷⁵² Kerkkonen 1959: 109.

⁷⁵³ Kerkkonen 1963: 121. Gunvor Kerkkonen, who has studied peasant trade, uses the term *bolag* ('corporation') to describe the groups of peasants engaged in joint trading efforts.

⁷⁵⁴ Salminen 2013: 316–317.

⁷⁵⁵ Kerkkonen 1963: 126–130.

⁷⁵⁶ KA 5000: 133r.

⁷⁵⁷ DF 5388; Kerkkonen 1963: 29.

⁷⁵⁸ Salminen 2013: 20.

⁷⁵⁹ Salminen 2013: 18–23; DF 5556.

⁷⁶⁰ Kerkkonen 1959: 109.

⁷⁶¹ Mickwitz 1938: 17.

⁷⁶² KA 2969: 17.

⁷⁶³ KA 3324: 78.

Persson from Otnäs, as in 1572 Mats Bengtsson from Lillas was paid, together with Henrich, for transporting soldiers to Viborg and Tallinn.⁷⁶⁴ This is the last time when the inhabitants of Lillas are mentioned as sailing overseas, but it is hard to tell if they really stopped sailing or if the sources on that are simply lacking.

The first time when the other farms of Mårtensby are mentioned in the written sources is in the cadastral record from 1540.⁷⁶⁵ At this point, Mårtensby belonged to both the administrative and the church parish of Helsing. There were six farms in the village paying four full taxes, so the number of farms had likely been four in the late 14th or early 15th century. One of the six farms was located in Kvarnbacka, the neighbouring village north of Mårtensby. Kvarnbacka is mentioned for the first time already in 1519,⁷⁶⁶ but until the second half of the 16th century it was often listed together with Mårtensby in tax books. By 1556, the number of farms had grown to six in Mårtensby and two in Kvarnbacka.⁷⁶⁷

Despite there being written sources treating Mårtensby from the early 16th century until modern days, it is not easy to follow given farms over time. The names of the farms are typically first mentioned in historical documents in the 17th and 18th centuries, even though the names may be medieval or early modern, like the name Lillas, which probably refers to *Lill Göran*, Göran Bonde's son, who lived on the farm in the mid-16th century.⁷⁶⁸ There is only one case where the name Lillas is possibly referred to in the 16th century,⁷⁶⁹ and the next time the name is mentioned is on the map from 1699. Changes that happened on the farms also make it difficult to trace them. There are several cases where the fields of a deserted farm were merged into another farm, and later the farm was divided again. This happened especially in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when many farms were unable to pay taxes. Some were even left deserted, like in the Smeds farm, which was abandoned when the farmer contracted leprosy and was sent to a hospice in the 1640s.⁷⁷⁰

Only one of the farms, Lillas, can securely be traced back to the 16th century, but even in this case it is not always easy to trace the farm in the written sources. For example, in the 1560s and 1570s, two peasants, Lasse Jönsson and Mats Bengtsson, were both responsible for paying the farm's taxes in turns, and sometimes one of them paid the tithe and the other one the rest of the taxes in the same year.⁷⁷¹ It seems that the son of the former peasant took care of the farm together with another person, likely a relative, for a period of ten years. During this time, Mats appears to have been responsible for the sailing activities and Lasse for farming.⁷⁷² Mats first took over all the taxes in 1573,⁷⁷³ possibly after Lasse's death, as he is not mentioned in the sources after this. Another possible explanation is that the sailing activities may have ended at this point, as Lillas is not mentioned as owning a ship after the year 1572. In any case, Lasse and Mats sharing a farm for almost ten years clearly shows that the farms

⁷⁶⁴ KA 3330: 31r.

⁷⁶⁵ KA 2920: 41–43.

⁷⁶⁶ TLA A.f. 17: 215.

⁷⁶⁷ KA 3044: 45r.

⁷⁶⁸ Kepsu 2005: 131–132.

⁷⁶⁹ In tax roll KA 3486: 268r, *lill* is written after the name of the peasant Anders Matsson living in Lillas.

⁷⁷⁰ Porvoo I KO a:4: 23r, 133r–134v.

⁷⁷¹ E.g. KA 3462: 169; KA 3246: 1, 59.

⁷⁷² KA 3330: 31r.

⁷⁷³ KA 3341: 2r.

did not always pass directly from father to son in the late 16th century, but peasants could come up with different solutions suitable for the situation.

In 1571, two of the farms in the village were quite wealthy according to the silver tax register (Table 9.1).⁷⁷⁴ Lasse Jönsson's Lillas had property amounting to 262 and a half marks, which meant it shared the position of the third richest farm in the parish, alongside Henrich Persson from Otnäs.⁷⁷⁵ The wealth of the two farms can be partly explained by the fact that both owned half of a ship, and based on the receipt from the next year⁷⁷⁶ these halves amounted to a ship jointly owned by the two farms. Even when the value of the shared ship (150 marks) is reduced from the property of Lasse Jönsson, he was still the richest man in the village. However, Mats Persson followed close after with a property valued at 106 and a half marks. The two farms were also the largest in the village based on their size, as both paid a full tax for 18 ells of land.⁷⁷⁷ On the other hand, the property of the three remaining farms was under the median of 57 marks in the parish, and Oluf Morthensson with his 27 marks was even noted as poor.

Peasant	Property in marks (mk) and öre
Lasse Jönsson	262 1/2 mk
Matts Person	106 1/2 mk
Hendrich Anderson	34 1/2 mk
Jacob Matsson	31 mk 6 öre
Oluff Morthensson	27 mk

Table 9.1 The value of property of the peasants living in Mårtensby in 1571. No – Number of fragments.

There were clearly notable differences in wealth between the farms in Mårtensby, and this is also evident in how able the farms were to survive the difficult years in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The poorer farms struggled with taxes on several occasions, while the two wealthy farms survived more easily through the difficult times. For example, the widow of Mats Bengtsson was able to take care of the taxes for several years during the 1590s.⁷⁷⁸ It seems that there were not any adult males in the family until her son Anders Matsson was old enough to take over the farm around 1598,⁷⁷⁹ so besides paying the taxes, she was likely forced to hire help for several years.

Although Lillas was clearly a wealthy farm, this is not evident based on the amount of land they owned in the late 16th century. In the early 1540s, the farm was quite large, paying 1 1/3 marks in tax. However, by 1548, the taxes had dropped to just 1 full tax, possibly in connection to Göran Bonde's death, which happened between 1542 and 1548. As the above discussed examples show, Göran bought pieces of land at least on two occasions, and these stayed in the hands of his heirs even after his death. However, after Göran's time, the farm did not purchase any more land, suggesting that they instead invested their wealth in something else.

In 1603, Lillas started to equip a cavalryman,⁷⁸⁰ but they had to give this up already two years later, when the village was given to the nobleman and cavalry captain Daniel Golowitz as an enfeoffment.⁷⁸¹ After Golowitz' death, the farm continued to equip a cavalry soldier in

⁷⁷⁴ KA 3324: 78–79.

⁷⁷⁵ KA 3324: 74.

⁷⁷⁶ KA 3330: 31r.

⁷⁷⁷ E.g. KA 3315: 3.

⁷⁷⁸ E.g. KA 3466: 1.

⁷⁷⁹ KA 3475: 60v.

⁷⁸⁰ KA 3503: 1r.

⁷⁸¹ KA 3528: 320v.

1614. By this point the farm had been taken over by Morten Matsson, likely a younger brother of Anders.⁷⁸² After this, Morthen was mainly responsible for the farm, while his brother Simon Matsson was the cavalryman. This arrangement continued until 1632, when Simon was killed during a campaign in Germany.⁷⁸³ After this, the farm used a hired cavalry soldier until Claes Mortensson, the son of Morten, took up the position by 1641.⁷⁸⁴

The case of Mårtensby shows well how only a limited picture of the contacts people had can be gained based on the lists of fines. All the cases where inhabitants from Mårtensby were fined between 1556 and 1589 are local disputes with the neighbouring villages.⁷⁸⁵ Still, the early 16th-century account books clearly show that at least Göran Bonde and his family had an extensive network of contacts in the parish and even further away. The account books also offer a glimpse into the importance of women in establishing and maintaining the contact networks. For example, in 1516, a Hans Olsson from Kyrkby in Helsinge is referred to as Göran's sister's son in Ficke's account book.⁷⁸⁶ Apparently Göran's sister was married to a certain Olof from the other side of the parish, but her relation to Göran remained important when her son had dealings in Tallinn. Anna, the wife of Göran's brother Per, also played a central role in Göran's network. After Per died around 1518, Anna was often mentioned in the accounts, and after she remarried, her new husband Jöns became a member of Göran's trading network.⁷⁸⁷

The 17th century court records show that Lillas had a wide-reaching contact network even later on.⁷⁸⁸ In 1640, Claes Mortensson represented a vicar from Ny Skans when the vicar wanted to collect a debt from the chaplain in Nurmijärvi in the parish of Helsinge.⁷⁸⁹ Ny Skans (or Nyen) was a Swedish fortress town in the area of modern-day Saint Petersburg.⁷⁹⁰ Claes appears to have been trusted even by persons living far away from his home village and belonging to other social groups than the peasantry. There is also other evidence of Claes Mortensson being known as a wealthy and trustworthy man outside the parish of Helsinge. In 1645, one of the cases discussed during the autumn court in the parish of Espoo treated two and a half barrels of grain that Claes had loaned to a Margaret from Kvarnby in Espoo six years earlier.⁷⁹¹ As Margaret was unable to pay her debt, which had risen to five barrels by this point, she was about to lose the silver tankard which she had given as the pledged object. Apparently, Lillas often lent grain to those in need, as a similar case was treated also in 1641, but then the other party was a peasant from Lappböle in the parish of Helsinge.⁷⁹²

Despite Göran Bonde acting as a witness in matters concerning Tallinn in the early 16th century, between 1540 and 1650 the inhabitants of Lillas never seem to have held any of the trusted positions typical of rural communities, such as that of a juror in the local court. Otherwise, they were active in the matters concerning their home village. In the 1640s,

⁷⁸² KA 3575: 2r.

⁷⁸³ KA 445: 350v.

⁷⁸⁴ KA 7916: 374.

⁷⁸⁵ See Appendix 2.

⁷⁸⁶ TLA A.f. 22: 91v.

⁷⁸⁷ Kerkkonen 1959: 111–113.

⁷⁸⁸ See Appendix 3.

⁷⁸⁹ Porvoo I KO a 3: 107.

⁷⁹⁰ Ehrensverd 2007.

⁷⁹¹ Raasepori I KO a 4: 77.

⁷⁹² Porvoo I KO a 3: 151.

Morten Mortensson and his son Claes Mortensson often represented Mårtensby in the court when the interests of the village were contested by the local nobility.⁷⁹³ There were jurors from some of the other farms in the village, but not from Lillas or the other wealthy farm, the one owned by Per Larsson, in the 1570s.

The court records show that the inhabitants of Lillas were clearly prepared to appear in court even in cases where other parties came from the local elites. For example, when the nobleman Mats Tynneson who owned land in the neighbouring village of Lappböle contested the ownership of a meadow belonging to Lillas, Claes Mårtensson was able to display several written documents from the late 15th century, confirming that he was the rightful owner.⁷⁹⁴ The ability to produce documents proving ownership of a piece of land was vital when ownership was contested. The peasants also knew this and were therefore prepared to produce old documents in court to demonstrate their right to their property.⁷⁹⁵ It is unclear how well Claes could read himself, but the inhabitants of the farm were clearly familiar with the legal customs involving written culture.

A further example of how the inhabitants of Lillas were familiar with written documents is the only early 17th-century document signed in the name of an inhabitant from the studied villages. In 1632, Anna Olofsdotter, the widow of the cavalryman Simon Matsson from Lillas, asked for help due to poverty after her husband had died in Germany at the hands of the enemy the previous year.⁷⁹⁶ Besides Anna, the letter was signed by two other women also left widowed at the same time, and it was addressed to Governor-General Gabriel Oxenstierna. The letter is another example of the good connections and the familiarity that the inhabitants of Lillas had with upper-class customs.

9.2 BUILDINGS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

So far, only the plot where Lillas was located has been excavated in Mårtensby. Several buildings have been studied, and based on them the earliest settlement on the plot dates to the late 15th or early 16th century (Fig. 9.3).⁷⁹⁷ No building remains prior to this period have been identified in the material, but some of the stoneware ceramics found at the site date to the late 13th or 14th century. In addition, a piece of charred wood has given a C14 date to the late 13th or 14th century,⁷⁹⁸ but based on a younger date from the context below,⁷⁹⁹ the context of the older date is mixed. Still, it is possible that the plot was settled already before the 15th century.

⁷⁹³ Porvoo I KO a 4: 18; I KO a 4: 24.

⁷⁹⁴ Porvoo I KO a 4: 11r–12r.

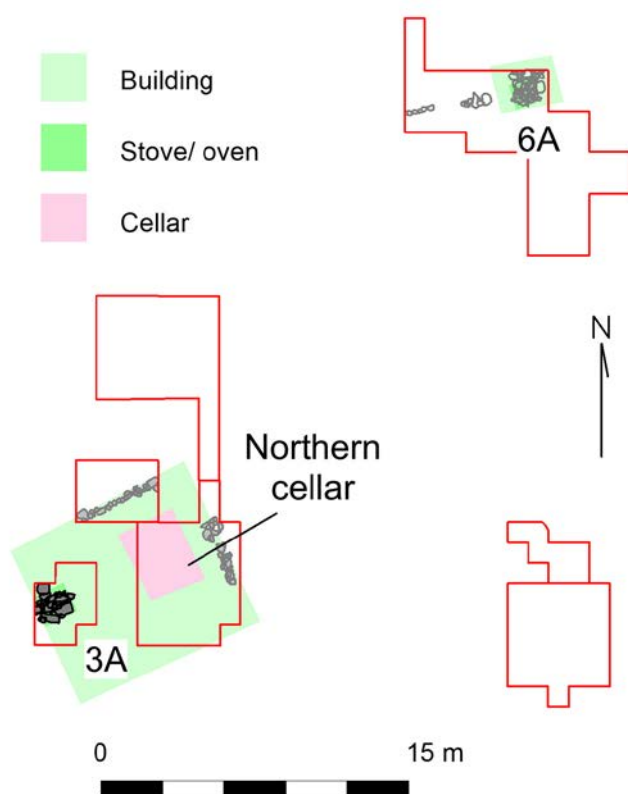
⁷⁹⁵ Haikari 2009: 100–106.

⁷⁹⁶ KA 445: 350v.

⁷⁹⁷ For details of the buildings, see Appendix 4.

⁷⁹⁸ Hela-3580. For details of the radiocarbon dates, see Appendix 5.

⁷⁹⁹ Hela-3321.



◀ Fig. 9.3 Late 15th and 16th century structures excavated in Lillas. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

▼ Fig. 9.4 The small fireplace of building 6A and behind it the larger oven foundation of building 6B. Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.

Late medieval structures

The oldest structure at the site was a small fireplace (R6-85) found under later building remains in the north-eastern corner of the plot (Fig. 9.4). In the excavation report, the structure was interpreted as an oven foundation, but it was more likely a small stove, with a low stone foundation encircled by a wooden frame. According to thermoluminescence dating,⁸⁰⁰ the fireplace was last heated between years 1460 and 1580. Based on stratigraphy, this happened in the early 16th century at the latest.

The stove probably belonged to a late medieval building, *building 6A*, although only fragmentary cultural layers with some charred wood had been preserved west of the stove.⁸⁰¹ Due to the fragmentary nature of the cultural layers, it is also possible that the stove had been located outside. The stove was likely used for cooking, as several charred seeds, among them cereals as well as broad beans and possibly peas, were found in the macrofossil samples.⁸⁰²

Therefore, the building may have been a dwelling house or a separate kitchen.

Late medieval structures were also found at the central area of the plot, where a large cellar (*northern cellar*) was built in the early 16th century at the latest (Fig. 9.5). The rectangular cellar pit had a surface area of at least 8 m² and a relatively well-preserved wooden floor. Only a small number of objects were found in the layers at the bottom of the cellar,

⁸⁰⁰ Hel-TL04284, age 490±60.

⁸⁰¹ Koivisto & Väisänen 2014: 35–36; Heinonen 2015a: 40–41. No building numbers have been used in Lillas, so in this work the buildings are marked with the number of the excavation area and a letter in order to distinct them from one another.

⁸⁰² See Vanhanen in Koivisto & Väisänen 2014.



Fig. 9.5 The two large cellars located in the central part of the plot. The older northern cellar (right in the picture) was used in the 16th century, and the younger southern cellar in the 17th century. Both cellars belonged to building 3A. Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.

probably due to the wooden floor, but a coin⁸⁰³ minted between 1512 and 1520 suggests, along with the few other finds, that the cellar was used in the early 16th century. A C14 sample dating to 1450–1640⁸⁰⁴ obtained from the bottom of the cellar pit supports this.

The cellar had likely been inside a building, *building 3A*, as some fragmentary structures north and west of it seem to have been contemporaneous. A wall foundation (R7-10) was found just 1.5 metres north of the cellar, and a stone structure (R8-16) found four metres west of the cellar was likely an oven foundation belonging to an early settlement phase of the site. If these structures belonged to the same building, it was at least 5 x 8 metres in size, with the oven in the western end and the cellar in the eastern part of the building. This building was probably the late medieval main building of the farmstead, as during the early modern period the main building was located in the same place.⁸⁰⁵

Early modern buildings

Several early modern buildings were excavated at the plot (Fig. 9.6). *Building 3A* was likely still used during the second half of the 16th century, although it is difficult to say for how long, as the fine sand which was used to fill its cellar in the next building phase did not contain any finds. However, this may have happened when a new cellar was built 15 metres east of the building. The structure of the *eastern cellar* differed greatly from the other cellars at the site, as it had stone walls (Fig. 9.7). Several shards of a *bartmann* bottle manufactured in Cologne or Frechen around the mid-16th century were found in the sand layer on which the stone cellar was founded, so it was built after the mid-16th century, in the early 17th century at the latest.⁸⁰⁶

In Sweden in the 17th century, similar cellars have often been separate buildings, typically used to store traded goods, and the cellar in Lillas has been interpreted in a similar way.⁸⁰⁷ However, the cellar was located in a place which was extremely visible to anyone approaching the farmstead from the riverside or via the road on the other side of the river.

⁸⁰³ KM39466: 298; Ehrnsten 2019: 337.

⁸⁰⁴ Hela-3321.

⁸⁰⁵ Koivisto et al. 2012: 80.

⁸⁰⁶ Koivisto et al. 2012: 49–59; 2013: 39–49; Heinonen 2015a: 44–45.

⁸⁰⁷ Forenius 1989: 13–14; Koivisto et al. 2012: 53–54.

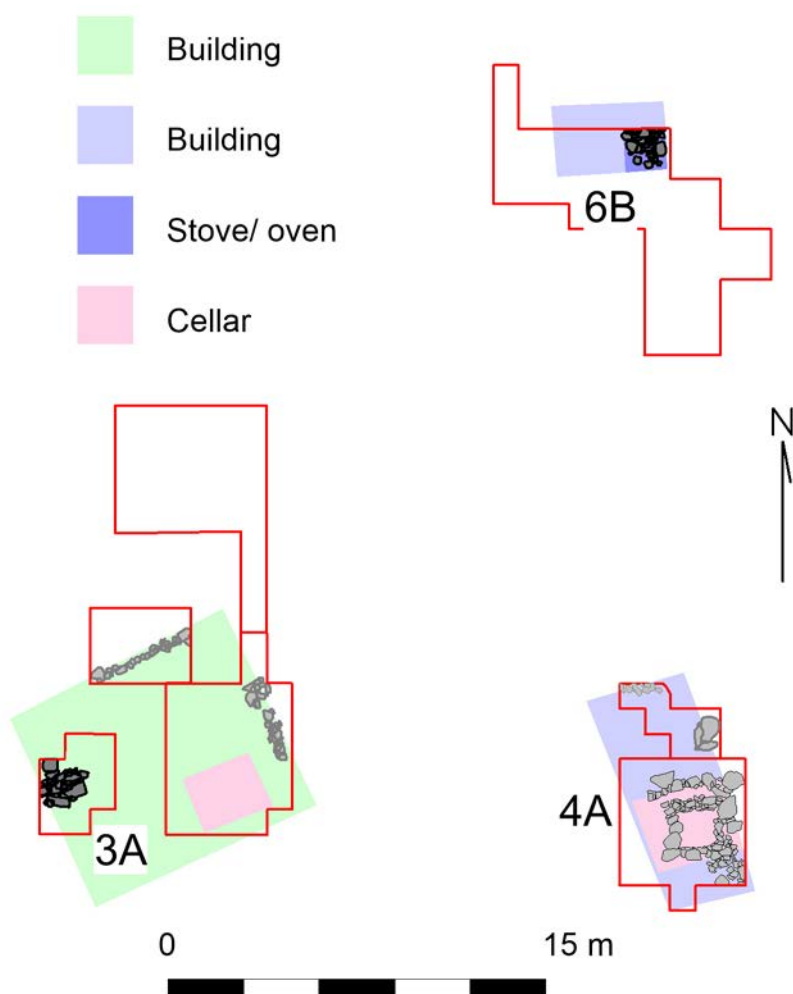


Fig. 9.6 Late 16th and 17th century structures excavated in Lillas. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

Because of this, it seems that the cellar was intended to be seen rather than to keep valuable goods hidden and safe. Stones likely belonging to wall foundations were found north of the cellar, and a large number of early modern stoneware and passglas fragments were found in connection to the foundation, suggesting that there was a building, *building 4A*, connected to it.⁸⁰⁸ Based on the find material and the visible location, it seems probable that *building 4A* was the main building of the farm in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The cellar and likely also the building connected to it were used in the 17th century and filled in the 1720s at the earliest, as two coins dating to

around this time were found at the bottom of the fill layers.⁸⁰⁹

Even though the main building of the farm seems to have been moved to a new location and the old earth cellar was filled in the late 16th century, the place where the late medieval cellar had been located was still used, and the old main building may have remained in use with a new function. Another cellar pit was dug just south of the filled medieval cellar, cutting the fill layers.⁸¹⁰ This *southern cellar* was smaller than the northern one, with a surface area of approximately 4 m². A layer of charcoal found at the bottom of the cellar indicates that there had been a wooden floor, which had been burnt.⁸¹¹ Based on the finds, the cellar was filled in the early 18th century, apparently around the same time as the stone cellar in the east. This may have happened after the Russian occupation known as the Great Wrath (1713–1721) ended. During the occupation, many of the buildings in the parish were destroyed,⁸¹² and this may have also happened in Lillas.

⁸⁰⁸ Heinonen 2015a: 44–45, 66–68.

⁸⁰⁹ KM 2011018: 1020, 1021.

⁸¹⁰ Väisänen 2016: 92.

⁸¹¹ Koivisto et al. 2013: 25–27.

⁸¹² Eskola 2018.

Fig. 9.7 The stone-walled eastern cellar found in Lillas. Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.



It seems that the northern stone cellar and the southern cellar were used simultaneously in the 17th century, and they may have had different functions at this time. Based on the large amount of fish

bones and scales found in the southern cellar, it was likely used for storing foodstuffs, while more valuable things may have been kept in the stone cellar.⁸¹³ After the southern cellar was filled, a new building, *building 3B*, was erected in the same place, and its oven was placed on top of the filled medieval cellar. A wooden floor was built south of the oven, on top of the southern cellar. *Building 3B* appears to have been the main building of the farm in the 18th century.

Another early modern building, *building 6B*, was located in the north-eastern part of the plot, right on top of the old stove (*R6-85*) and *building 6A*. Apart from its oven, the building had been mostly destroyed by later activities in the area. Only the south-western corner of the oven, along with the remains of a wooden floor west of it, were excavated. A shard of majolica ceramics and a clay pipe fragment found in connection to the oven⁸¹⁴ suggest that the building was likely used in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Based on the small number of finds and the location of the building, it may have been an outbuilding, which was possibly also used for dwelling at times.⁸¹⁵

Another building used during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, *building 6C*, was found on top of *building 6B*. Only some of the cultural layers and a fragmented stone foundation (*R6-42*) belonging to the building had been preserved. Based on two coins minted in 1666 and two portable icons dating to the 17th or early 18th century found in the cultural layers, *building 6C* was used in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.⁸¹⁶ The function of the building could not be determined, but several objects including ceramics were found in the layers connected to it, so it may have been used for dwelling. After the building was abandoned, a drying barn was built on the same location.

⁸¹³ Koivisto et al. 2013: 25–27, 70; see Kivikero in Koivisto et al. 2013.

⁸¹⁴ KM 39466: 366, 373.

⁸¹⁵ Heinonen 2015a: 41; Väisänen 2016: 98–101.

⁸¹⁶ Koivisto & Väisänen 2014: 43; Heinonen 2015a: 41; Väisänen 2016: 98–101; KM 39163: 774, 848, 872, 890.

9.3 MATERIAL CULTURE

As the plot where Lillas was located during the early modern period was settled until the first half of the 19th century, a large part of the find material dates to the period after the mid-17th century (Table 9.2). In many cases it is difficult to tell if a find dates to the studied period or if it is later, as many of the objects are very fragmented, or represent types that remained similar for centuries. Because of this, the main focus in this chapter is on the clearly medieval and early modern finds, like certain types of ceramics, or finds from closed contexts. However, most of the finds come from mixed layers, so the contexts offer little help for dating many of the objects.

Building and living

The find material connected to building and living from Lillas is quite large and versatile, likely because much of it may date to the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Table 9.3). For example, the nearly 1300 shards of window glass collected during the excavations mainly date to this period. The material includes some shards with grozed edges or originating from diamond-shaped panes.⁸¹⁷ These are dated prior to the mid-17th century, so there must have been glass windows at the farm by the early 17th century. The finds also include casement frames made of lead.⁸¹⁸

Some of the glass pane shards have painted decorations. These include a shard with a painted human figure (Fig. 9.8),⁸¹⁹ which appears to be wearing *pluder* pants that were fashionable in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, similar to a figure on a shard found from Old Helsinki.⁸²⁰ The shard from Lillas likely originates from a window decorated with a small cabinet painting. Cabinet windows started to spread to Swedish towns in the late 16th century and to the countryside during the first half of the 17th century. These painted glass panes were often given as gifts, but some-

Object groups	No
Building and living	2337
Cooking and tableware	2568
Personal objects and clothing	159
Handicrafts	103
Agriculture	27
Hunting and Fishing	1
Horses and riding equipment	49
Trade	3
Leisure	263
Religion and folkbeliefs	3
Military	3

Table 9.2 Finds related to different object categories in Mårtensby.

Building and living	No
Candlestick	2
Clasp	5
Fitting	8
Flint	192
Glass vase	10
Handle	3
Hinge	6
Hook	3
Key	7
Lead came	6
Loop	4
Mirror	1
Nail	29
Padlock	1
Plate	70
Quartz	321
Ring	3
Rivet	6
Rod	46
Stove tile	208
Timber dog	1
U-shaped staple	6
Window glass	1420

Table 9.3 Finds related to building and living in Mårtensby.

817 E.g. KM 2011018: 224; KM 39163: 272.

818 E.g. KM 2011018: 1059; KM 39466: 167, 168.

819 KM 39466: 491.

820 Haggrén 1994: 286.

Fig. 9.8 A painted glass pane with a human figure. Photo Pekka J. Heiskanen, Vantaa City Museum.



times also purchased by the owner of the building.⁸²¹ The pane with the human figure from Old Helsinki has been dated to the early 17th century,⁸²² and a similar dating is probable for the shard found from Lillas as well.

Several pieces of tile stoves have also been found from Lillas. Some of the pieces originate from tiles with a dark glaze and floral decorations, which likely date to the early 17th century.⁸²³ It seems that for a rural house, a tile stove was purchased for Lillas quite early on, as these were just becoming popular even in Finnish towns during the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸²⁴ The material from Lillas also includes a large number of more typical finds connected to building and living, such as nails, rods and iron plates, and different kind of fittings. Flint and quartz flakes were also found in large quantities, although some of these may be connected to the Stone Age settlement on the site. The material also contains five keys, and a possible key for a barrel lock.⁸²⁵

Table culture and cooking

Ceramics

As the catalogued ceramics from Lillas also contain late 17th- and 18th-century shards, the material is larger and more varied than from the other sites (Table 9.4). Almost a quarter of the shards originate from faience plates and cups, and there is also a large amount of porcelain in the material. Still, redware is the most common type of ceramics found in Lillas. There are some shards of late medieval or early modern tripod pipkins in the material,⁸²⁶ but even more shards belonging to plates or bowls. Some of these are rich-

Table culture and cooking	No
Barrel tap	1
Copper alloy cauldron	3
Earthenware	5
Faience	271
Flint goods	1
Glass beaker	62
Glass bottle	311
Glass bowl	1
Glass carafe	1
Glass flask	10
Glass vessel	970
Hard-fired greyware	18
Iron cauldron	2
Majolica	3
Porcelain	63
Redware	734
Schnapps glass	3
Stoneware	68
Table knife	7
Whiteware	25
Wine glass	9

Table 9.4 Finds related to table culture and cooking in Mårtensby.

821 Qviström 2020: 75–78.

822 Haggrén 1994: 286.

823 Majantie 2010: 233; Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 347–348.

824 Majantie 2010 24–26, 285–286.

825 KM 2011018: 912.

826 E.g. KM 39466: 305, 317; compare, e.g., to Niukkanen 1994; 2007.



Fig. 9.9 A bartmann bottle manufactured in Cologne or Frechen. Photo Pekka J. Heiskanen, Vantaa City Museum.

ly decorated, and likely date to the 17th century.⁸²⁷ There are also some shards originating from early modern whiteware vessels among the material. In general, it is difficult to date the fragmented redware material, which was mostly found in mixed contexts.

The material includes a large number of stoneware shards, but the majority of these originate from two early modern vessels.

Altogether 31 shards belong to a *bartmann* bottle manufactured in Cologne or Frechen during the mid- or late 16th century (Fig. 9.9), and 20 shards likely originate from a single jug manufactured in Westerwald in the 17th or 18th century. The early modern stoneware material also includes three shards of a jug or pitcher manufactured in Raeren in the 16th or 17th century.⁸²⁸ Besides the early modern material, there are shards originating from at least three medieval stoneware vessels. One of these is from a *Jacoba* jug dating to the 14th century, and one of the other shards originates from a vessel manufactured in Siegburg as well. This shard has also been dated to the 14th century, but because of its small size it is not possible to identify the vessel type more precisely.⁸²⁹ In addition, three shards originate from one or more vessels manufactured in Lower Saxony at the turn of the 14th century.⁸³⁰ Besides medieval and early modern stoneware, the finds include several shards belonging to 18th- or 19th-century seltzer water bottles.

Early modern ceramics from Lillas also contain 10 shards originating from a hard-fired greyware vessel or vessels likely manufactured in Bohemia or Southern Poland during the late 16th or early 17th century.⁸³¹ In addition, there are some shards of a glazed greyware flask manufactured in the Pskov area in north-western Russia between the mid-16th and mid-17th centuries. Similar flasks are often found from towns and castles in Estonia but are rare in the Finnish find material.⁸³²

Other tableware

No clearly medieval glass vessels were found from Lillas, but the material contains altogether 54 shards originating from several *passglas* vessels dating to the late 16th or 17th century. Most of these were found around the early modern stone cellar in the eastern part of the plot

827 E.g. KM 2011018: 999; KM 2011018: 1002; see Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 346–347; Väisänen 2016: 153–154.

828 Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 345–346.

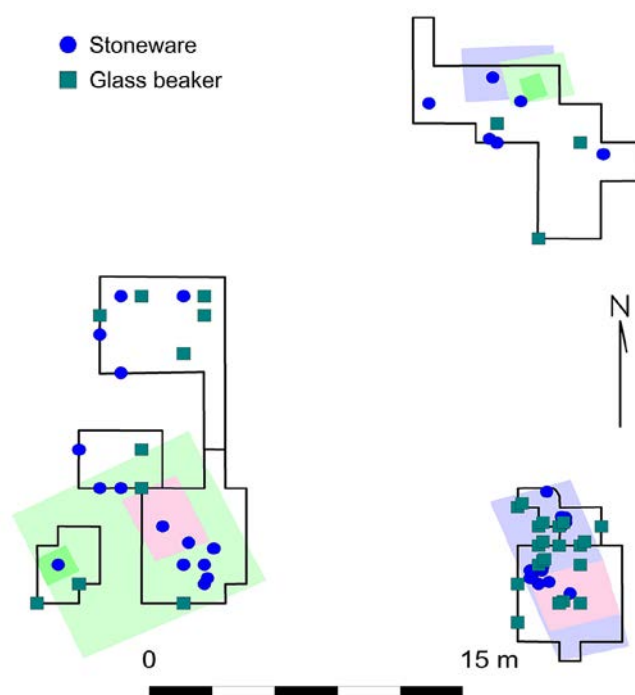
829 KM 2011018: 452; KM 2011018: 453; see Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 344.

830 KM 2011018: 562, 1309; KM 39466: 511; see Väisänen 2016: 156–158.

831 E.g. KM 2011018: 190, 367, 573; see Väisänen 2016: 162.

832 KM 2011018: 279, 327, 266, 267, 1232; Russow 2006: 135–136; Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 348.

Fig. 9.10 Distribution of medieval and early modern stoneware ceramics and passglas. Map Tuuli Heinonen.



(Fig. 9.10). There is also one shard belonging to a *Römer* beaker, and a shard of a beaker that likely dates to the 16th century but has not been identified more closely.⁸³³ Fragments of glass bottles are also numerous among the finds. The oldest of these probably date to the turn of the 18th century. Other finds related to table culture include table knives that date to the 16th or 17th century. There are also three fragments possibly originating from bronze cauldrons and two shards of iron cauldrons in the material.⁸³⁴ Cauldrons were among the items the inhabitants of Lillas brought from Tallinn to Uusimaa.

In 1538, for example, Göran Bonde's son Mårten bought one from Helmich Ficke.⁸³⁵

The finds from Lillas also include a cock-shaped barrel tap,⁸³⁶ likely originating from a beer barrel. These kinds of taps were common in medieval and early modern Europe, and a similar item has been found in Old Helsinki.⁸³⁷ As beer was sold at Lillas in the mid-16th century,⁸³⁸ it is not surprising that a tap commonly used on beer barrels is among the finds.

Personal objects and clothing

The finds from Lillas include a large number of items connected to personal adornment and clothing, but most of these are difficult to date (Table 9.5). There are several buckles, some of them made of copper alloy and some of iron, a large number of buttons of different materials, and three small hooks used to fasten clothes, as well as several copper alloy fittings among the material. The last were either used by humans or attached to horse equipment. A rarer item among the finds is a bundle of silver thread dating to the early 18th century or earlier. A total of 78 beads were found from Lillas. Most of these are blue glass beads, but the material also contains one made of amber, four jet beads, and one possible turquoise bead.⁸³⁹ It

⁸³³ Koivisto et al. 2012; 2013; Koivisto & Väisänen 2014; Väisänen 2016: 170–172; KM 39163: 1059; KM 2011018: 503.

⁸³⁴ KM 2011018: 430, 1199, 1545; KM 2011018: 996; KM 39466: 361.

⁸³⁵ TLA A.f. 17: 339.

⁸³⁶ KM 2011018: 550.

⁸³⁷ Heikkinen 1994: 245–247.

⁸³⁸ KA 5000: 133r.

⁸³⁹ KM 2011018: 337; KM 2011018: 659; KM 39163: 310, 1026; KM 39466: 153; KM 2011018: 337.

has been suggested that these might originate from a rosary,⁸⁴⁰ but as beads were a popular type of personal adornment during the 17th century,⁸⁴¹ they may have simply been used as dress accessories.⁸⁴² However, as the beads were discarded in the 17th or early 18th century despite most of them being unbroken, they may have had a special function.

Helmich Ficke's accounts mention several occasions when Göran Bonde or his associates bought cloth from him. The types varied; for example, in 1516 Göran's skipper bought black *leides*, likely cloth from Leiden, and in 1516 and 1517, Göran bought altogether 11 ells of *nargh*, probably meaning *naardenschen* cloth.⁸⁴³ This was the most common type of cloth that the Tallinn merchants sold.⁸⁴⁴ Besides cloth from the Netherlands, Göran bought English cloth at least once. According to Gunnar Mickwitz, this was more expensive than cloth from the Netherlands.⁸⁴⁵

Handicrafts

Most finds from Lillas connected to handicrafts are whetstones and knives, but there are also some finds connected to textile work and woodwork among the material (Table 9.6). The first include needles, thimbles, and two pairs of scissors, and the latter a saw blade and a spokeshave. All these date to between the 16th and 19th centuries. Approximately 32.5 kilograms of iron slag were found at Lillas, and the finds also include one iron bar.⁸⁴⁶ It seems that there was a smithy somewhere quite nearby, but possibly not on the plot. One of the neighbouring farms was called Smeds (*Smith's*), so the farm in question was likely specialised in metalwork,⁸⁴⁷ and the slag might have ended up on Lillas' plot from the village smithy located on the neighbour-

Personal objects and clothing	No
Comb	2
Copper alloy and glass button	1
Copper alloy buckle	4
Copper alloy button	26
Copper alloy dress fastener	3
Copper alloy fitting	19
Copper alloy mount	2
Copper alloy plate	12
Glass bead	71
Iron buckle	6
Iron button	1
Jet bead	4
Lead button	1
Lead fitting	1
Silver plate	1
Silver thread	1
Tin or lead button	1
Turquoise bead?	1
Tweezers	2

Table 9.5 Finds related to personal objects and clothing in Mårtensby.

Handicrafts	No
Copper alloy needle	2
Iron bar	1
Iron needle	3
Knife	32
Knife chape	1
Saw	1
Scissors	2
Smelted lead	2
Spokeshave	1
Thimble	3
Tool with a blade	1
Folding knife	1
Whetstone	53

Table 9.6 Finds related to handicrafts in Mårtensby.

⁸⁴⁰ E.g. Koivisto et al. 2013.

⁸⁴¹ Hiekkänen 2006b.

⁸⁴² Väisänen 2016: 194.

⁸⁴³ TLA A.f. 22: 55v, 58r, 65v.

⁸⁴⁴ Mickwitz 1938: 58

⁸⁴⁵ TLA A.f. 17: 343; Mickwitz 1938: 58.

⁸⁴⁶ KM 2011018: 1505.

⁸⁴⁷ Kepsu 2005: 131.

ing farm. Lillas traded in *osmund* iron in the early 16th century,⁸⁴⁸ which might explain the iron bar found at the plot. There are also two large lumps of smelt lead among the finds,⁸⁴⁹ possibly intended for making lead bullets for the cavalryman living on the farm.

Livelihoods

The finds from Lillas include some objects related to agriculture, but these are hard to date more precisely (Table 9.7). Based on the tax books, rye, barley, and oats were cultivated on the farm,⁸⁵⁰ and during the early 16th century, rye and barley were also sometimes bought from Tallinn.⁸⁵¹ Macrofossil analyses show that some wheat was cultivated as well, but the amounts seem to be modest compared to other crops.⁸⁵² As Lillas was quite a large farm compared to others in the village, it also cultivated more than its neighbours. A register from 1624 shows that Lillas sowed altogether 5 barrels of grain, while the other farms sowed just between 1.5 and 2.5 barrels.⁸⁵³

In 1571, Lillas owned 11 cows and heifers, 10 sheep, five goats, and three horses, which was a large share of the overall amount of cattle in the village. Altogether, there were 27 cows and heifers, 22 sheep, 10 goats, and nine horses in Mårtensby (Table 9.8).⁸⁵⁴ In 1624, there were six horses, two bulls, 14 cows and 10 heifers, 14 sheep, and three young sheep, and two pigs in the village, and Lillas owned many of these.⁸⁵⁵ For example, four of the horse – two mares, one stallion, and a foal – belonged to the farm. This was a large number, as just six farms in the parish owned more than five horses at this point. As the farm was equipping a cavalryman, they had a constant need of horses. The finds from Lillas also include several objects related to horses and riding (Table 9.9).

Agriculture	No
Bell clapper	2
Hoop from a stave vessel	7
Scythe blade	1
Sickle blade	1
Stave from a vessel	16

Table 9.7 Finds related to agriculture in Mårtensby.

Peasant	Cows	2-year-old cows	1-year-old cows	Sheep	Goats	Horses
Lasse Jönsson	6	3	2	10	5	3
Hendrich Anderson	2			2	1	1
Oluff Morthensson	2					1
Jacob Matsson	2			2	2	1
Matts Person	6	2	2	8	2	3

Table 9.8 The amount of cattle owned by the villagers in 1571. Lasse Jönsson was the peasant farming Lillas.

⁸⁴⁸ Kerkkonen 1959: 133.

⁸⁴⁹ KM 39163: 1695, 1696.

⁸⁵⁰ E.g. KA 3102: 15.

⁸⁵¹ E.g. TLA A.f. 17: 341.

⁸⁵² See Vanhanen in Koivisto et al. 2013; Koivisto & Väisänen 2014.

⁸⁵³ KA 3628c: 130–131.

⁸⁵⁴ KA 3324: 78–79.

⁸⁵⁵ KA 3628c: 130–131.

The finds from Lillas tell little about fishing or hunting, as there is only one possible arrowhead in the material.⁸⁵⁶ The bone material offers more information, and osteological analyses have shown that the material includes hare and squirrel, and also some fox, seal, and wolverine. At least hare may have been hunted on a regular basis. The large number of fish bones and scales found during the excavations show that several species of fish were consumed at the farm. These were either caught by the inhabitants or bought elsewhere.⁸⁵⁷

Horses and riding equipment	No
Bit fragment	1
Horseshoe	7
Horseshoe nail	35
Horseshoe nail for winter	1
Ice shoe	2
Spur fragment	3

Table 9.9 Finds related to horses and riding in Mårtensby.

Other finds

Although Lillas' inhabitants were actively involved in trade during the first half of the 16th century, the importance of trade for the farm is not visible in the find material in any special way. The material includes only two coins dating to the early 16th century, one minted in Sweden in 1512–1520 and one in Tallinn in 1532–1534, and a jetton minted in Nuremburg around 1550.⁸⁵⁸

The finds from Lillas contain some objects that tell about the religious life on the farm. The above-mentioned beads may originate from a rosary. Rosaries were primarily used by Catholics, but there is evidence that they were still sometimes used in Finland during rural prayer meetings in the 17th century, despite the Lutheran Church disapproving of such *rosarium* meetings.⁸⁵⁹ The possible rosary beads are not the only exceptional religious finds from Lillas. The material also includes two small portable bronze icons, which were commonly used by Orthodox Christians for practising personal devotion.⁸⁶⁰ The icons found in Lillas were manufactured in the Pskov area in north-western Russia; like the beads, they date to the 17th or early 18th century.⁸⁶¹

The court case where the peasant from Lillas, Claes Mårtensson, represents the vicar of Ny Skans shows that the farm had contacts in north-western Russia in the mid-17th century,⁸⁶² and the above-mentioned flask manufactured in the Pskov area further shows that objects with eastern origin were used at the farm as well. The religious objects connected to Orthodox Christianity, and the beads possibly originating from a Catholic rosary suggest that the inhabitants of Lillas may have had a special interest in Christian religion and especially personal devotion in the 17th century. At the same time, they were also familiar with

⁸⁵⁶ KM 39466: 457.

⁸⁵⁷ Kivikero in Koivisto et al. 2012, 2013; Koivisto & Väisänen 2014.

⁸⁵⁸ KM 2011053: 1, Money cabinet/ National Museum; KM 39466: 298; KM 39163: 897; Koivisto et al. 2013: 52–53; Ehrnsten 2019: 174, 337.

⁸⁵⁹ Hiekkanen 2006b: 35–37.

⁸⁶⁰ Lillbroända 2000: 16, 30.

⁸⁶¹ Koivisto et al. 2013: 55–56

⁸⁶² Porvoo I KO a 3: 107.

folk beliefs, as a Stone Age chisel had been concealed under the floor of the 18th-century main building of the farm.⁸⁶³

Other finds from Lillas also include a large number of clay pipes, altogether 260 shards. Although most of them date to the 18th century, there are some 17th-century pipes among the material as well, some of these possibly from the first half of the century.⁸⁶⁴ In addition, the material contains some flint, likely originating from flint locks, and a cannonball.

9.4 Medieval and early modern settlement in Mårtensby – a summary

Mårtensby was founded in the Middle Ages, and the farmsteads of the village were likely first located on a single plot. As the village grew, the number of plots also increased, and by the late 15th or early 16th century, one of the farmsteads, Lillas, was moved to a new plot in the south. Based on some medieval finds, there may have been activities on the plot already prior to this, but the medieval finds may also have been found in a secondary context. At the turn of the 16th century, a small stove was located in the north-eastern part of Lillas' plot, and a large cellar on the central plot. The cellar likely belonged to the main building of the farm, and the small stove was used for cooking, possibly in a separate kitchen building. The area between the two buildings was used for dumping household waste, possibly for creating manure for a vegetable patch.

During the late 16th century, the built environment of the farm seems to have gone through notable changes. The old main building was rebuilt around this time, and the old cellar filled with sand. It is possible that after the modifications, the function of the building changed, as a new building was founded east of the old main building around the same time. This building was erected in a place that was quite visible from the riverside, and a stone cellar was built in connection to the building. There appears to have been several buildings used for dwelling at the farmstead during the late 16th and 17th centuries. This might be explained by the number of people living in Lillas. During the 1560s, two peasants were jointly responsible for the farm, and in the 17th century, there were cavalrymen, some of them with a family, at the farm. Therefore, several households may have been living in Lillas at times.

The rebuilding activities also affected the furnishing of the buildings. During the late 16th or early 17th century, a tile stove was built at the farm, and at least one painted glass window was acquired. Around the same time, new stoneware, redware, and glass vessels were purchased, showing that the inhabitants were willing to spend money on tableware. The improvements in the material culture at the farm happened around the same time as the farm started to equip a cavalry soldier, and it is possible that material culture was used to express the social ambitions of the inhabitants in connection to this. The inhabitants may have wished for an improvement in their social status, and military service offered an opportunity, as it was a way to rise to the ranks of lower nobility even.⁸⁶⁵ Although Lillas never achieved this, it remained a wealthy and well-connected farm throughout the 17th century. The farm buildings were rebuilt again in the early 18th century, likely after the Russian occupation ended in 1721.

⁸⁶³ Koivisto et al. 2012: 33, 79; see Hukantaival 2016.

⁸⁶⁴ E.g. KM 2011018: 640, 895.

⁸⁶⁵ Jutikkala 1958: 124–126; Englund 1989: 153–154; Kuisma 1990: 336–345.

10 GUBBACKA IN VÄSTERSUNDOM – A MEDIEVAL VILLAGE WITH IRON AGE ROOTS

Västersondom is located in eastern Vantaa, at the border of the modern cities of Vantaa and Helsinki. Currently the seashore is about 2.5 kilometres from Västersondom, but in the Middle Ages the village was located close to the shore, next to a narrow strait (sund in Swedish), which has given the area its name.⁸⁶⁶ The landscape in the area is still quite rural, especially around Westerkulla manor. The old village is quite large, and there are several archaeological sites in the area, most of them historical settlement sites. So far, only the southernmost site, Gubbacka, has been excavated extensively. Gubbacka is located on the northern edge of low-lying fields facing the sea, on the southern slope of a moraine hill, after which the site has also been named. The eastern part of the Gubbacka plot has been destroyed by a modern intersection, but the western part is an unbuilt wooden area, where remains of the medieval settlement have survived. The Westerkulla manor, which was founded in the early 17th century, is located west of Gubbacka.

Besides Gubbacka, there are three other settlement sites located in the Västersondom area. The Labbas/Labben plot on the northern part of Gubbacka hill is the best preserved of these, according to archaeological field surveys. Further north, there is a deserted plot called Måssböle/Måsbrot hem åkern. The northernmost plot in the Västersondom area, Heikbacka, is the place where the settlement in Västersondom was located from the 17th century onwards. On the oldest map depicting Västersondom in 1708 (Fig. 10.1),⁸⁶⁷ the Heikbacka and Labbas plots are marked as settled, but the concept version of the map notes Gubbacka as a deserted village site.⁸⁶⁸

Västersondom was surveyed in 2002, followed by small-scale test excavations.⁸⁶⁹ A large-scale rescue excavation was carried out on the eastern part of the Gubbacka site in 2003, followed by research excavations by Vantaa City Museum in the western part of the plot in 2008–2010. The later excavations were part of a larger research pro-



Fig. 10.1 In 1708, the settlement in Västersondom was located in Heikbacka, while the old plot in Gubbacka (circled in red) had been left unoccupied. Map National Archives of Finland.

⁸⁶⁶ Kepsu 2005: 184–189.

⁸⁶⁷ Broterus 1708a.

⁸⁶⁸ Broterus 1708b.

⁸⁶⁹ Suhonen 2002a.

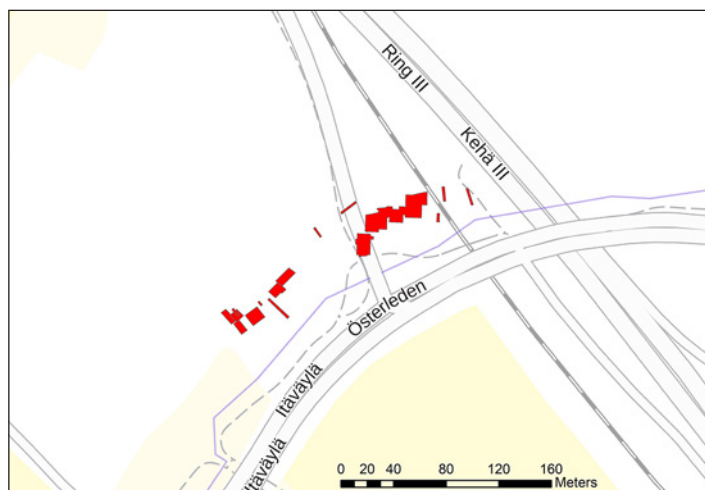
► Fig. 10.2 The excavated areas in Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen, background map National Land Survey of Finland.

▼ Fig. 10.3 The western part of the old village plot in Gubbacka. Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.

ject focusing on the Middle Ages in the Vantaa area.⁸⁷⁰ During the four field seasons, excavations were carried out for 6.5 months, and approximately 1340 m² of the well-preserved medieval village plot was excavated (Fig. 10.2). The material from Gubbacka has been treated in several publications.⁸⁷¹

10.1 THE VILLAGE AND ITS INHABITANTS

A village located in Västersundom is mentioned in the written sources for the first time in 1347,⁸⁷² although the document has only been preserved as a 17th-century copy. In the original, which is a letter of judgement treating fishing rights at the coast, three villages called *Gudzstensby*, *Öffwerby*, and *Heldersby* are mentioned. In the 17th-century version, the copyist has added the names used for the villages at that point: Sottungsby for *Öffwerby*, *Öster Sundom* for *Heldersby*, and *Wester Sundom* for *Gudzstensby*.⁸⁷³ Based on the phrasing of the text, Veli-Pekka Suhonen has suggested that the letter mentions the new names for *Öffwerby* and *Heldersby*, but just the location of *Gudzstensby* (*i Wester Sundom*, in Västersundom). Therefore, it might refer to another, older village in the area of later Västersundom. This older village would have been deserted after 1347, and its connection to the later Västersundom, except for the general location, was therefore unclear for the copyist working in the 17th century.⁸⁷⁴ It has been discussed if the plot located at Gubbacka is the *Gudzstensby* mentioned in 1347 (Fig. 10.3). This is plausible, as Gubbacka is a medieval village site located in the area



⁸⁷⁰ A. Koivisto 2008; 2009; 2011a.

⁸⁷¹ E.g. Koivisto et al. 2010; Russow 2012; Väisänen 2016.

⁸⁷² DF 540.

⁸⁷³ DF 540; Salminen 2013: 92–93. “...som boo i Öffwerby, han heeter nu Sottungzby, Heldersby, heeter nu Öster Sundom, Gudztens by i Wester Sundom och allom Haukosma Sundona”. In English, the text is “Those who live in Öffwerbo, which is now called Sottungzby, Heldersby, now called Öster Sundom, Gudztens by in Wester Sundom and all the Haukosma Sounds”. Translation by the writer.

⁸⁷⁴ Suhonen 2005: 12–13; Suhonen 2008: 41.

of Västersundom. If Västersundom was located closer to the seaside and the narrow strait south of the village in the Middle Ages, as has been suggested,⁸⁷⁵ Gubbacka would be a more likely location for the medieval village than Heicbacka, which is located further inland.

Even though the earliest mention of Västersundom, or its predecessor Gudstensby, dates to the 14th century, there was activity in the area already prior to this. In 1347, the fishing rights of the three local villages were contested by people from Hattula in Tavastia, located a hundred kilometres north of Västersundom. In a judgement passed in the name of King Magnus Eriksson, the rights were granted to the local villagers following the Swedish law. According to Tapio Salminen, this case shows how the establishment of new settlement in the area, which had previously been used by people from Tavastia, caused conflicts when the Swedish legislation was being consolidated in the 14th century.⁸⁷⁶

People from Tavastia had likely used the coastal area in later Västersundom for long-distance fishing and possibly also as a trading route.⁸⁷⁷ It is unclear if there was more permanent settlement in the area at this point, but pollen analysis done three kilometres south of Gubbacka shows that field cultivation in the area started in the 10th century.⁸⁷⁸ Therefore, it is likely that there was some settlement in the area already during the Late Iron Age, but it may have been small-scale or seasonal at this point.⁸⁷⁹ During the colonisation period, new villages were founded in the area, and based on the Swedish village names, the inhabitants of these new villages were likely Swedish, and thus also well acquainted with Swedish legal customs.⁸⁸⁰

The name Västersundom appears in the written sources for the first time in 1520 or 1523 in connection to peasant trade. The village is mentioned only once or twice in Helmich Ficke's accounts,⁸⁸¹ suggesting that either the inhabitants were not actively involved in peasant trade or they had another contact in the town. The latter might be the case, as Erik Jönsson from Västersundom was fined for not lending his ship to the Crown for transporting grain to Viborg in 1547.⁸⁸² This shows that the villagers had ships that were suitable for seafaring in the mid-16th century.

After the 1520s, Västersundom is not mentioned again before the first tax books in the 1540s. At this point, Västersundom was part of the administrative parish of Sipoo and the church parish of Helsinge.⁸⁸³ There were 11 farms in the village paying altogether 7 ½ full taxes. In 1556, three of the farms, valued at 1.5 full taxes, were farmed by peasants living outside the village, and this had likely been the case already in the 1540s, as only eight peasants from Västersundom paid the tithe in 1548.⁸⁸⁴ The amount of full taxes in the village would suggest that when full taxes were first imposed during the late 14th century, Västersundom

⁸⁷⁵ Kepsu 2005: 185–187; Suhonen 2005: 12.

⁸⁷⁶ Salminen 2013: 86–96.

⁸⁷⁷ Salminen 2013: 86–96; Heinonen 2021a.

⁸⁷⁸ Vuorela et al. 1990.

⁸⁷⁹ Heinonen 2021a.

⁸⁸⁰ Koivisto 2011b: 69–71; Koivisto 2012: 287; Salminen 2013: 86–96.

⁸⁸¹ TLA Af 17: 322; There are two entries mentioning Västersundom, which have been interpreted to date to two different occasions in 1520 and 1523. However, it is possible that these refer to the same instance, based on their similar content and the lack of a clear date in the first entry. See also Salminen 2013: 42–43; Kerkkonen 1963: 157.

⁸⁸² KA 2961: 227.

⁸⁸³ Salminen 2013: 42–45.

⁸⁸⁴ KA 2920: 127–130; KA 2969: 12; KA 3044: 74r–75v.

was either a large village with seven or eight farms, or farms from other villages were later incorporated into the village.

The amount of taxes paid by the village was not constant in the 1550s and 1560, partly because some of the land was owned by peasants living outside the village, and partly because in the late 1560s some farms fell into the hands of the nobility.⁸⁸⁵ The number of farms in the village varied throughout the second half of the 16th century, and the same applies for the land owned by a given farm. At times, only six farms in Västersundom paid taxes.⁸⁸⁶ At the end of the century, the number of farms had been settled to nine, and in addition, a notable amount of land was farmed by a peasant living in the neighbouring village of Kärr.⁸⁸⁷ Altogether, the amount of land in the village was valued at 7 marks at this time. Due to the constant changes in the peasants listed in the tax books and the taxes they paid, it is difficult to follow given farms in the written records for longer periods of time.

Like the amount of land and farms, the name of the village also varied in the second half of the 16th century. Besides the medieval name Gudstensby, three additional names were used to refer to Västersundom: Inbyggeby, Heikbacka, and Sundom. The three names are used partly simultaneously, possibly referring to different plots of the village. The name Sundom is used to refer both to Västersundom and Östersundom in the 16th century, and it is also the name of the administrative *fjärding* area containing both villages. Åke Granlund has suggested that the name originally referred to a wider coastal area around the sound south of Västersundom.⁸⁸⁸ According to Saulo Kepsu, Sundom might be the name of the first village in the area, likely located in the area of the later Västersundom. The names Västersundom and Östersundom may have developed from this name, as a new settlement was founded east of the original village.⁸⁸⁹

The name Inbyggeby means 'settlement located inland', and Saulo Kepsu has suggested that the name refers to the northernmost plot of the village, Heikbacka.⁸⁹⁰ It is possible that these names refer to the same plot, as they are not used simultaneously. The name Inbyggeby is found in tax records in the 1550s and 1560s,⁸⁹¹ and the name Heikbacka appears for the first time in 1605.⁸⁹² The name Inbyggeby is thought to have been used during the period when there were two plots in Västersundom, an older one located closer to the seaside and a younger one situated more inland. The settlement likely moved gradually to the younger inland plot during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, leaving the older plot eventually deserted.⁸⁹³ There is also local folklore about the village being moved from a place called Gölabacka near the seaside to a more inland location.⁸⁹⁴ As both names Västersundom and Inbyggeby are used in turns to refer to the whole village in the 16th century, it is difficult to determine what was actually being referred to. Still, the village or some of its farms appear to have moved to a new location during the late 16th century, and it is possible that the ad-

⁸⁸⁵ KA 483a: 186v–187v.

⁸⁸⁶ E.g. 3323: 14v.

⁸⁸⁷ KA 3479: 15r–16v.

⁸⁸⁸ Granlund 1956: 374–375

⁸⁸⁹ Kepsu 2005: 184–185.

⁸⁹⁰ Kepsu 2005: 187.

⁸⁹¹ E.g. KA 3102: 8r–9v; KA 3247: 5r–6v.

⁸⁹² KA 3519: 301v.

⁸⁹³ Kepsu 2005: 185–187; Suhonen 2005: 12–13; Lönnqvist 2010: 59–62; Suhonen 2010: 37.

⁸⁹⁴ Kepsu 2005: 184; Lönnqvist 2010: 58–59.

ministration could not keep up with the changes, resulting in confusion over the different names.

Although Västersundom was a peasant village in the mid-16th century, already in the 1560s three of the farms were bought by the nobleman Sigfred Kruse and incorporated into his enfeoffment along with 26 other farms in the parishes of Sipoo and Porvoo.⁸⁹⁵ Tenants took over these farms, and they stayed under Kruse until his death around 1581, after which the farms reappeared in the cadastral records.⁸⁹⁶ Because the tenants were not included in the silver tax in 1571, it is difficult to compare their wealth to other peasants in the village. However, they were apparently not worse off than other villagers. For example, in 1577 one of them, Mats Olsson, owned four horses, which was a large amount.⁸⁹⁷ Still, even though the tenants may have not differed too much from the other villagers, Veli-Pekka Suhonen has noted that the point when the farms were enfeoffed to Kruse can be seen as the starting point for the process where the old peasant village started to disintegrate.⁸⁹⁸

In 1571, the median wealth of taxpayers in the parish of Sipoo was 40 marks, which is significantly less than the 57 marks in Helsingē.⁸⁹⁹ One of the reasons for this is that in Helsingē, the ships owned by the peasants were also included in the silver tax, which was not done in Sipoo. Other reason for the low median wealth of peasants from Sipoo was a raid by Russian troops in the same year. It took a heavy toll on the peasants of the parish, and in the silver tax records several peasants are marked as unable to pay taxes because their farms had been looted.⁹⁰⁰ It has been thought that Västersundom was one of the villages raided by Russian troops in 1571,⁹⁰¹ but this is unlikely, as Västersundom is not mentioned among the raided villages, even though some farms in the neighbouring villages Botby and Imbersby were destroyed.⁹⁰²

Compared to other peasants in the parish, the inhabitants of Västersundom were doing quite well in 1571 (Table 10.1). The wealth of only one of the peasants, Anders Nilsson, was under the median of the parish. However, when Russian troops raided the area again in 1577, Västersundom was not among the lucky ones to escape the devastation. Nine farms in Västersundom, both taxpayers and Sigfred Kruse's tenants, were among the attacked

Peasant	Value of property in marks (mk) and öre
Nilis Jönsson	99 mk 3 öre
Jöns Matsson	69 mk 5.5 öre
Morthen Andersson	51 mk 7 öre
Jacop Hendrichsson	50 mk
Lasse Persson	50 mk
Anders Nilsson	20 mk

Table 10.1 The value of property of the peasants living in Västersundom in 1571.

⁸⁹⁵ KA 483a: 186v–187v.

⁸⁹⁶ KA 3396: 17v.

⁸⁹⁷ KA 161: 17v.

⁸⁹⁸ Suhonen 2010: 38.

⁸⁹⁹ KA 3324.

⁹⁰⁰ E.g. KA3324: 66r, 67r

⁹⁰¹ Lönnqvist 2010: 61.

⁹⁰² KA3324: 66r, 67r.

farms.⁹⁰³ Altogether 20 people were taken, half of them from a single farm owned by Lasse Persson. In addition, the material losses were notable. It is possible that some of the farms were rebuilt in another location, possibly Heikbacka, after the raid. However, as the name Inbyggeby was first mentioned already in the 1550s, the relocation of the farms had likely started before 1577. Still, the raid might have expedited this development.

In 1605, five farms amounting to three full taxes were enfeoffed to the nobleman and cavalry captain Daniel Golowitz.⁹⁰⁴ In the letter listing the farms given to Golowitz, the name Heikbacka (*I heickbacka I wester Sundåm*) is mentioned for the first time. At this point, there were likely several settled plots in Västersundom, as there was a need to specify the location of these farms amongst several possible places in the village. Two plots were likely used until the 1630s, as both Heikbacka and Västersundom are names used to refer to the village until this. Written documents rarely specify where individual peasants lived in the village area, but in the court records from the late 1620s onwards, they are increasingly marked as living in Heikbacka instead of Västersundom.⁹⁰⁵

The period when part of the village was under Golowitz ended up being short, lasting only until 1614. At this point, three of the farms started to equip a cavalry soldier.⁹⁰⁶ One of these farms was owned by Herr Bertil; based on his title *Herr*, he was a clergyman, likely a regimental preacher. Written records also give some indication that besides a priest, there was at least one craftsman in the village at the turn of the 17th centuries. In 1600, the widow of a man named Thomas Wäffvare is mentioned in a tax roll.⁹⁰⁷ The name Wäffvare (*väväre*) would suggest that aside from farming, Thomas was a weaver, although in the 16th century terms referring to handicrafts were sometimes already used as surnames instead of referring to the actual skills of the person in question.⁹⁰⁸ Thomas and his family had an unfortunate fate, as the above-mentioned tax roll states how his widow was unable to pay taxes because the whole household had been infected with leprosy.

In the 16th and early 17th centuries, most of the contacts the villagers had were with nearby villages.⁹⁰⁹ The contacts also reached further east, as the villagers settled a debt with a peasant from Andersböle in Porvoo.⁹¹⁰ Most of the conflicts recorded in the lists of fines happened between the peasants, and occasionally the other party was the son, wife, or widow of a peasant. The vicar of the parish of Helsingfors was also a familiar figure to the villagers. He is mentioned in connection with two cases, once when he was accusing a son from one of the farms, Samuel Bertilsson, for having sex with a woman he was not married to, and once when he was involved in a farm being traded.⁹¹¹ The court records also offer glimpses of the relationships the peasant families had with their maids and farmhands, like in the above-mentioned case of Samuel Bertilsson, who was fined for having sex with his mother's maid.

⁹⁰³ KA 161: 16r–17v.

⁹⁰⁴ KA 3519: 301v; KA 2523a: 24v.

⁹⁰⁵ For example, Jacob Sigfredsson is marked in Västersundom in 1624, but in 1627 in Heikbacka. Porvoo I KO a: 1: 166, 393–394.

⁹⁰⁶ KA 3575: 10v.

⁹⁰⁷ KA 3486: 258v–r.

⁹⁰⁸ Suvanto 1987: 163.

⁹⁰⁹ See Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

⁹¹⁰ KA 219: 21.

⁹¹¹ Porvoo I KO a: 1: 20, 98.

On some occasions, like in the case when Karin Eriksdotter from Västersundom demanded compensation from her neighbour Jacob Hansson for her sheep that had been killed,⁹¹² the lists of fines and court records also offer a view on the actions of the women in the village. Karin's position is not stated in the court records, but she clearly had property, as besides the dead sheep, there is another account of her owning a barrel of barley.⁹¹³ It is possible that Karin was responsible for one of the farms in the village at this point, even though she is not mentioned in the tax records. The same applies for Samuel Bertilsson's mother mentioned above. She was likely the widow of Herr Bertil, who took care of paying the tithe in the early 1620s after her husband had died.⁹¹⁴ These are good examples of how women were active actors in the village community, although they are often almost invisible in the written records.

Besides getting into trouble with the law, peasants from Västersundom also held trusted positions and acted as jurors in local court sessions. There were several jurors from the village in the late 16th century, but most of them held the position for just one court session.⁹¹⁵ In the early 17th century, no lay jurors from Västersundom are recorded, possibly because the village was first enfeoffed to Daniel Golowitz in the beginning of the century, and after this the farms started to fall into the hands of soldiers or wealthy landowners.⁹¹⁶ This development culminated in 1625, when nine of the farms were acquired by Reinhold Wunsch.⁹¹⁷ The only farm to escape this fate was one which had been given to the widow of Torkell Amundsson in 1623.⁹¹⁸ Even this remaining farm was soon incorporated into Wunsch's properties, and by 1633 he had found a residential mansion called Westerkulla in the area.⁹¹⁹ The peasants stayed in their old farms as tenants after this.⁹²⁰

The founding of the Westerkulla manor has also been suggested to have caused the desertion of the old village plot.⁹²¹ Altogether, it seems that the process of moving from one plot to another was gradual, and there are no clear breaks in the tax records that would suggest abrupt changes.⁹²² There are possibly several reasons that led to the abandonment of the old plot. In this work, Gubbacka is treated as an old plot of Västersundom, and it can therefore be studied together with other material treating the village, despite the impossibility of connecting it with certainty to any named plot known from the written records.

⁹¹² KA 219: 10.

⁹¹³ KA 219: 10.

⁹¹⁴ E.g. 3612: 61v.

⁹¹⁵ These peasants were Nils Jönsson, once in 1574, KA 3347: 64v; Lasse Persson, twice in 1578 and 1581; KA 3379: 46v, KA 3396: 54; Anders Nilsson, once in 1586, KA 3425: 89v; Mats Olsson, once in 1587, KA 3434: 91v; Morthen Jönsson, once in 1589, KA 3441: 57v; Erich Jacobsson, once in 1590, KA 3448: 127; Jacob Hansson, three times in 1593–1594, KA 219: 31v, 53, 61v; Marcus Jacobsson, once in 1593, KA 219: 70v.

⁹¹⁶ E.g. KA 3597a: 51v; KA 3607: 15r; KA 3618: 8v.

⁹¹⁷ KA 3630: 31v.

⁹¹⁸ KA 3618: 8v; KA 3648: 3v.

⁹¹⁹ KA 3661: 12r; Kuisma 1990: 211.

⁹²⁰ KA 7879: 216r.

⁹²¹ Lönnqvist 2010: 62–63.

⁹²² Suhonen 2010: 39.

10.2 BUILDINGS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Altogether nine medieval or early modern buildings were excavated in Gubbacka between 2003 and 2010, and three additional buildings have been tentatively identified based on more fragmentary structures.⁹²³ Most of the buildings are connected to the last settlement phase of the site, but some of the buildings may have had several use phases that are often poorly visible, as the later structures have typically damaged the older ones. Excavations at the site have concentrated on two main areas, one on the eastern and the other on the western end of the village. The area left between these has not been excavated, so the settlement development at the site is not fully known. During the field survey in 2002 and subsequent excavations, several building foundations have been mapped in addition to the excavated structures. These buildings have been identified based on ovens which are visible as small mounds in the landscape. It is difficult to date these remains, but likely they belong to the late medieval settlement phase at the site.

Iron Age activities in Gubbacka

Human activity in Gubbacka may have started already in the 5th or 6th century AD, based on a C14 date obtained from a charred seed of rye.⁹²⁴ The seed was found in a mixed context, and there are no other indications of a settlement dating to this period. According to pollen data obtained three kilometres south of Gubbacka, there may have been slash-and-burn cultivation in the area already in the Iron Age.⁹²⁵ Therefore, it has been suggested that slash-and-burn cultivation may have been practised even in Gubbacka already this early, and the seed might be connected to this cultivation.⁹²⁶

The oldest structures found at the site date to the Late Iron Age and are connected to a smithy (Fig. 10.4). The structures include four forges and the remains of a burnt wooden structure, possibly the remains of a collapsed wall. Based on C14 analyses on charcoal found in connection to the structures, they are dated between the 10th

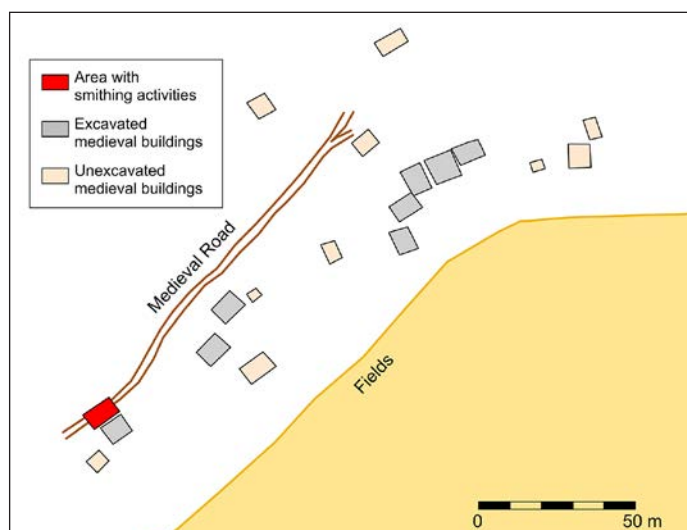


Fig. 10.4 Excavated and surveyed buildings and a smithy in Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinen, after Väisänen 2016.

⁹²³ For details of the buildings, see Appendix 4.

⁹²⁴ Hela-1996.

⁹²⁵ Vuorela et al. 1990.

⁹²⁶ Väisänen 2016: 75.

and early 13th centuries,⁹²⁷ suggesting that the smithy operated for a period of at least two hundred years. If there were buildings connected to the structures, they had been quite light. No traces of dwelling houses or other types of activities were found in connection to the smithy, and the only finds connected to the structures were iron objects and their fragments.⁹²⁸

It is hard to determine when exactly the smithy was abandoned, but a medieval road leading past the village was located on top of the structures. The smithy clearly predates the road, which Andreas Koivisto has dated to the turn of the 13th century.⁹²⁹ However, as the smithy appears to have been operating still in the beginning of the 13th century, it is possible that the road is somewhat later. The youngest forge found at the site belongs to a type that became common in Sweden during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages, which might suggest that the smithy was still operating during the colonisation period and the structures were influenced by the Swedish newcomers.⁹³⁰

The relationship between the smithy and the later village settlement is unclear, but it is likely that the smithy was connected to Iron Age long-distance land use from Tavastia, and the medieval village at the site was founded by the Swedish colonists. As the two groups were interested in different resources, the founding of the agricultural settlement in the area with long traditions of fishing may have happened at first through a mutual understanding.⁹³¹ In any case, the medieval village was founded at the same site where the smithy had operated earlier, showing continuous land use from the Late Iron Age to the Middle Ages in the area.

Medieval settlement on the western part of the plot

Besides the Late Iron Age smithy, the earliest buildings at Gubbacka date to the 13th or 14th century (Fig. 10.5). Only one of these buildings, *building 3* in the western part of the plot, was well preserved, and the western half of it was excavated. An oven was located in the north-western corner of the building, next to a one-metre-wide dirt bank consisting mainly of clay. The bank was interpreted as a wall foundation (Fig. 10.6),⁹³² but it was more likely located inside the building and used as insulation against the wall. Such dirt bank structures have been common in Finnish rural buildings already in the Late Iron Age, and their use continued to historical times. Besides being used for insulation they were also used as benches for sleeping or sitting.⁹³³ It seems that the wall foundation was based on a ditch on the western side of the bank. Traces of one or two small posts were found in the ditch, and these were probably connected to the wall structure.⁹³⁴

Rich and varied medieval find material was collected from the floor layers and the yard west of the building, including shards belonging to three or four stoneware vessels, three

⁹²⁷ Hela-2288, Hela-2290, Hela-2291. For details of the radiocarbon dates, see Appendix 5.

⁹²⁸ Heinonen 2012.

⁹²⁹ Koivisto 2012: 274.

⁹³⁰ Willim & Grandin 2010; Heinonen 2012.

⁹³¹ Salminen 2013: 86–96; Heinonen 2021a.

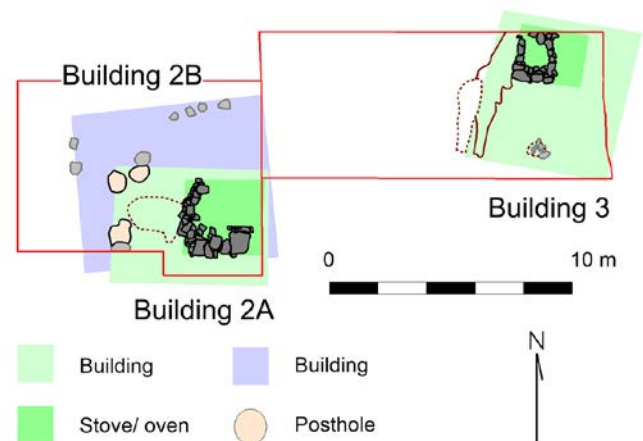
⁹³² Koivisto 2011: 22–28; Mikkanen 2015: 77–78; Väisänen 2016: 73.

⁹³³ Vuorela 1975: 409; Vuorinen 2009: 50, 85–89; Seppänen 2012: 643–644.

⁹³⁴ Väisänen 2016: 73.

► Fig. 10.5 Medieval buildings 2A, 2B and 3 excavated in the western part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

▼ Fig 10.6 Oven in the north-eastern corner of building 3. Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.



bracteates dating to 1354–1363, shards belonging to at least one Bohemian glass vessel dating to the second half of the 14th or early 15th century, and several personal objects, including a finger ring, jingle bell, and bronze buckle.⁹³⁵ Even more interestingly, just west of the building in the area that had likely been the farm yard, a scabbard was found hidden in a pit under a large stone. A fragment possibly originating from an armour gauntlet as well as three arrowheads, one for a crossbow and two for a hand bow, were found nearby. Together these finds form an assemblage that is more typical of military than peasant milieus. No specialised handicrafts were done in the building;

besides two chisels, the only objects found in the building possibly used as tools were knives.

A burnt bone found in the cultural layer was dated between the 1430s and 1520s.⁹³⁶ Based on this and the finds, the building was occupied from the mid-14th to 15th century. Finds dating to the 16th century have also been found in the layers around the building; this has been suggested to indicate that the building was used for a long period.⁹³⁷ It is possible that a medieval wooden building was used for over 200 years,⁹³⁸ but the younger finds may also originate from later land use on the site. In any case, the finds along with the structures suggest that the building was used for dwelling in the 14th and 15th centuries, and the occupant might have been a cavalry soldier.⁹³⁹

Another building, *building 2*, was located just eight metres west of building 3 (Fig. 10.7). The building was possibly built already in the late 13th or early 14th century, and it was either used for a long period, or more likely, it had two different use phases.⁹⁴⁰ It is also possible that two separate buildings were located at the same place at different times, but in this case,



⁹³⁵ Koivisto 2011a: 22–28; Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 341–342; Ehrnsten, pers. comm. 17.4.2021.

⁹³⁶ Hela 2667.

⁹³⁷ Koivisto 2012: 273–274; Väisänen 2016: 74.

⁹³⁸ Göthberg 2000: 108–109; Schmidt Sabo 2001: 31; Vuorinen 2009: 189–190.

⁹³⁹ Koivisto 2012: 286.

⁹⁴⁰ These are referred to as *building 2A* and *building 2B*.

the same structural elements appear to have been utilised in both of them.⁹⁴¹ The earliest structures consisted of three post holes and an oven foundation, which were all located in the north-western part of the building. The oven foundation was built of stones, and at least the upper parts of the structure were laid using clay as mortar.⁹⁴² A shard of 14th-century Siegburg stoneware and a shard of Bohemian glass, resembling the material from *building 3*, were likely connected to this use phase of the building.

Two overlapping grates were documented in the oven during the excavation, presumably belonging to sequential phases of the same structure.⁹⁴³ Based on the C14 dates from the two grates, the oven was first used from the late 13th to the early 15th century,⁹⁴⁴ and then remodified during the early 15th century.⁹⁴⁵ As part of the modification between these two phases, the opening of the oven appears to have been moved from the south side to the north side, as during the excavation a possible opening was documented on both sides.⁹⁴⁶ A pit filled with stones and charcoal was located on the western side of the oven. The pit was interpreted as a cooking pit or a stove, used simultaneously with the oven. A burnt bone from the fill layer of the pit was dated to the first half of the 15th century.⁹⁴⁷

Three post holes, probably belonging to a wall construction, were found two metres west of the oven. Charcoal from one of the post holes was dated to the late 13th or 14th century.⁹⁴⁸ This corresponds well to the date obtained from the oldest layers belonging to the grate of the oven, suggesting that the postholes and the first phase of the oven belong to the same building, *building 2A*. The oven was modified in the early 15th century, and the building appears to have been rebuilt at this point as well. The walls were moved further north and west and founded on cornerstones instead of posts. The wall foundations could not be clearly discerned during the excavation, but the extent of the 15th–16th-century cultural

layer (Y408), as well as some of the stones along the edges of this layer, likely show the extent of the younger building, *building 2B*.

A large number of grains were found in the macrofossil analysis from the 15th-century layers of the building, suggesting that cooking took place in *building 2B*.⁹⁴⁹ Along with the 15th- and 16th-century find material, which included redware ceramics and



Fig. 10.7 Partly excavated oven of building 2 (right) and a posthole dating to the earliest phase of the building (left). Photo Andreas Koivisto, Vantaa City Museum.

⁹⁴¹ Koivisto 2011a: 14; Väisänen 2016: 66–71.

⁹⁴² Mikkanen 2015: 74–76.

⁹⁴³ Vanhanen & Mikkanen 2014: 20–23; Väisänen 2016: 66–71.

⁹⁴⁴ Hela-2639, Hela-2928.

⁹⁴⁵ Hela-2927.

⁹⁴⁶ Koivisto 2011a: 15.

⁹⁴⁷ Koivisto 2011a: 12; Koivisto 2012: 286; Mikkanen 2015: 74–76; Hela 2668.

⁹⁴⁸ Hela-2669.

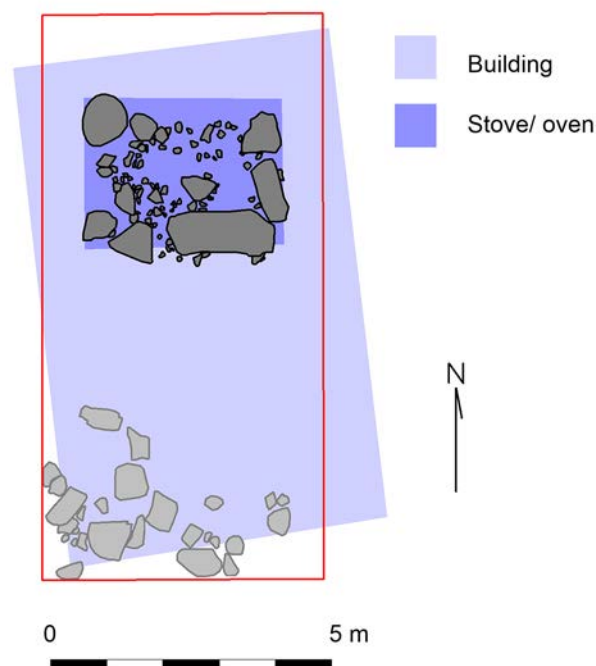
⁹⁴⁹ Vanhanen & Mikkanen 2014: 23.

Fig. 10.8 Late medieval building 1 in the western part of the plot. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

metal objects such as a table knife, this would suggest that the building was used for dwelling during this period. It is unclear if it had the same function already in the 14th century or if it was some other kind of heated building, such as a kitchen used by the inhabitants of *building 3*. Several whetstones and some other tools were found in *building 2A/B*, so besides cooking it may have been used for handicrafts.

Buildings 2 and *3* likely belonged to the same farmstead, based on their close vicinity and similar east-west orientation. Based on the find material, it seems that at least in the 14th and early 15th centuries, *building 3* was a dwelling house and *building 2* was used for everyday tasks like cooking and handicrafts. The farm was probably inhabited by a wealthy person, possibly a soldier. *Building 3* appears to have been left out of use by the early 16th century, but the younger use phase of *building 2* continued until the plot was deserted in the late 16th century.

Another building belonging to the last occupation phase of the site, *building 1*, was found 30 metres west of *building 2* (Fig. 10.8). The building had an oven, but no clear wall foundations could be discerned during the excavation. Most of the objects connected to the oven were found south of it in a cultural layer outlined by some stones in the south. It is possible that this layer, along with the stones, marked a building in which the oven was located. Based on finds, mainly redware ceramics, the oven can be dated to the 16th century and it was used for cooking. As any traces of a building around it were vague, it could have been located outside as a separate cooking oven.



Medieval settlement in the eastern part of the plot

The buildings excavated in the eastern part of the village are dated mainly to the last settlement phase of the village in the 15th and 16th centuries (Fig. 10.9). Three of the buildings located in the eastern part of the village – *GB 1/II*, *GB2/I*, and *GB2/II* – have been interpreted as dwelling houses based on the structures and finds. In addition, a building interpreted as a late medieval smithy was excavated, as well as a building which may have been either a dwelling house or a sauna. Based on some finds and C14 dates, there was probably settlement in this part of the plot even earlier, but traces of this settlement were destroyed by the later medieval activity at the site.

The possible sauna, *GB 1/I*, had a surface of approximately 40 m², and it had an oven which differed from other buildings at the site in both its structure and location. Almost no

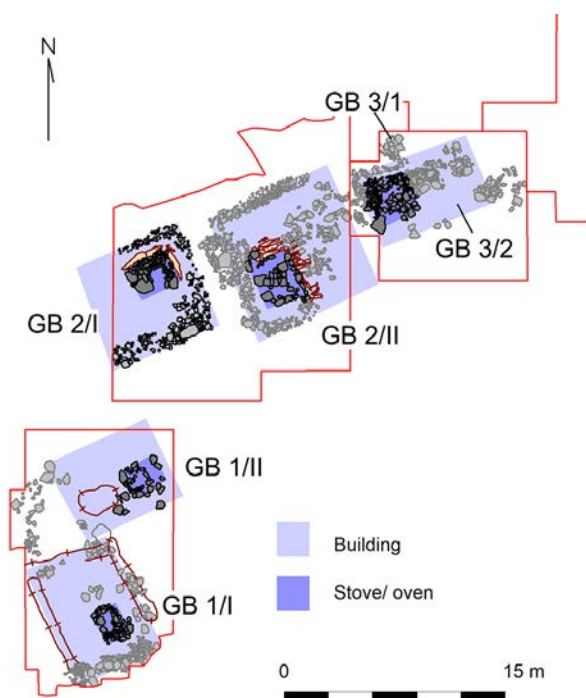


Fig. 10.9 The late medieval buildings excavated in the eastern part of the plot. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

clay appears to have been used in the construction. Based on this, Tiina Mikkanen has suggested that the oven might be a dry-built *kiuasuni*, a type of oven that was not covered with clay or mortar on top. The oven in GB 1/I did not even have a real grate. All this would have made the oven quite suitable for heating, and possibly for cooking, but not baking.⁹⁵⁰

In the medieval and early modern periods, the ovens (including those with no clay or mortar on top) were typically located against a wall or in the corner of the house,⁹⁵¹ but the one in GB1/I was in the centre of the

room. It is possible that the exceptional location was connected to the way in which the walls of the building were constructed. The northern, western, and eastern walls of GB1/I were founded on ditches, with some stones as part of the foundation.⁹⁵² This is quite untypical, as the only other building at the five studied sites with a wall foundation in a ditch is *building* 3 in the western part of Gubbacka. In this case, the oven was also located a metre from the ditch, as the dirt bank was laid between the wall and the oven. It is possible that a similar solution was also used in GB1/I, but the dirt banks were simply not detected during the excavation.

According to C14 analysis, charcoal found under the stone foundation in the eastern ditch likely dates to the second half of the 13th or early 14th century.⁹⁵³ The few pieces of redware ceramics found inside the building were notably younger and dated to the 16th century. This would suggest that the building was either used for a long period or the wood used in the walls was old, possibly recycled. It is also possible that the older date is explained by two separate construction phases. The finds do not help with the interpretation; besides the few shards of redware, only a small number of hard-to-date iron objects were found inside the building or in the foundation ditches.

Two construction phases may explain the location of the oven and some of the stones located north and east of the oven, which have been interpreted as part of the oven construction. Tiina Mikkanen has suggested that there may have been a separate, unheated room in the northern part of the building and in this case the stones would have been foundations

⁹⁵⁰ Mikkanen 2015: 55–58; Mikkanen 2017: 8–11.

⁹⁵¹ Mikkanen 2015: 42; 2016: 9.

⁹⁵² Suhonen 2004: 9–10.

⁹⁵³ Hela-797.

for an inner wall.⁹⁵⁴ It is also possible that the stones are connected to an older building, for which the oven was originally built. The reuse of the oven foundation in a younger building might explain its unusual location.

As noted above, there have been several ideas about the function of the building. Because of the small number of finds compared to other buildings in Gubbacka, Riina Koivisto has interpreted it as a dwelling house, possibly belonging to a household that was not so well off. She also considered the possibility of the building being a sauna or some kind of economy building, but dismissed the idea because the building is located close to the other houses.⁹⁵⁵ However, Tiina Mikkanen has pointed out that it was not uncommon for a sauna to be located in the farmyard in Western Finland, so the building may well have been a sauna, possibly used for dwelling at times.⁹⁵⁶ The function of the building could also have varied over time, especially if there were several construction phases.

Another building, *GB1/II*, was found north-east of building *GB1/I*, with their corners located close to each other. The placement of the buildings suggests that they were contemporaneous and belonged to the same farmstead. The oven belonging to *GB1/II* was probably located close to the southern wall of the building, but the interpretation is uncertain, as the eastern end of the building was left outside the excavated area. A stone-lined pit found west of the oven was interpreted as a small cellar or a storage pit. The find material from the building included several shards of redware ceramics, three knives, and two whetstones. Based on the finds, the building was interpreted as a dwelling house which had been used in the 15th and 16th centuries.⁹⁵⁷ It is possible that the building was demolished when it was left out of use, likely during the Late Middle Ages, and at least some of the finds are connected to later activities on the site.

Two additional dwelling houses were located north-west of the above-mentioned buildings. The western one of these, *GB2/I*, had wall foundations laid with small stones and an oven located in the north-eastern corner. Based on the excavated eastern part, the surface area of the building was a minimum of 40 m². The find material included two coins from the early 16th century, and a late medieval French jetton. Among the finds, there was also a large amount of redware ceramics, two brooches, a pair of tweezers, a cloth seal, and a die. In addition, some objects connected to handiwork, like a drill and some knives, were found in front of the oven. All these finds suggest that the building was a dwelling house used for different activities in the 15th and 16th centuries.

It has also been suggested that the building may have acted as an inn, because coins and dice show that money was handled and leisure activities were undertaken in the building.⁹⁵⁸ However, compared to the amount of finds from an excavated inn in Old Helsinki, dated to the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the number of coins is small.⁹⁵⁹ In addition, no glass vessels were found in *GB2/I* but a large number of these were used in the inn in Helsinki.⁹⁶⁰ Still, the idea of an inn in Gubbacka is not impossible. In 1621, the

⁹⁵⁴ Suhonen 2004: 8–11; Mikkanen 2015: 55–58.

⁹⁵⁵ Koivisto, R. 2009: 86–87.

⁹⁵⁶ Mikkanen 2015: 57–58.

⁹⁵⁷ Suhonen 2004: 11–13; Koivisto, R. 2009: 87–89.

⁹⁵⁸ Suhonen 2004: 15–17; Koivisto, R. 2009: 87–89; Koivisto, R. 2010: 108.

⁹⁵⁹ Heikkinen 1994: 251; Mellanen 2011: 61–68, Appendix 18.

⁹⁶⁰ Haggrén 1994.

local court decided that an inn should be founded in Västersundom.⁹⁶¹ It is not clear if this ever happened or if there had been one in the village previously, but still this shows that Västersundom was thought to be a suitable place for an inn.

Another building, *GB 2/II*, was located just one and a half metres east of *GB2/I*. The oven of the building was located on the south-western corner of the building. The building had a wooden floor, and its northern and western walls were founded with small stones on top of a low earth bank.⁹⁶² Outside the western wall, there was a rectangular extension, which has been interpreted as part of the wall foundation.⁹⁶³ However, Tiina Mikkanen has suggested that the door of the building may have been located along the western wall, and therefore it is possible that the extension was a foundation for a threshold or a step leading to the door.⁹⁶⁴ Because the eastern part of the building was badly damaged, it is not possible to define its exact surface area, but the building seems to have been quite large, possibly over 50 m².

Only a small number of finds were collected inside the building, suggesting that the waste was carefully cleared from the floor. The small number of objects found inside or right next to the building include a piece of a Bohemian beaker, two table knives, and some personal objects like buckles.⁹⁶⁵ The building has been interpreted as a dwelling house used in the 15th and 16th centuries. Based on the small number of cooking vessels compared to those used for serving, it is possible that the building was used for eating with nice tableware, like the glass beaker and table knives, while the actual preparation of the food took place elsewhere.

Riina Koivisto has suggested that the two above-mentioned buildings, *GB2/I* and *GB2/II*, may have been connected by a roofed passage, based on their location close to each other and a large number of nails found in the area between them.⁹⁶⁶ There were no structures clearly connected to such an additional room or passage, but based on the short distance between the rooms and on the door of at least *GB2/II* being located on this side of the building, the two rooms may have belonged to a two-roomed cottage. It is possible that the passage between the two rooms had only a roof but no walls, a common solution for the oldest two-roomed buildings in Finland.⁹⁶⁷ The western room may have been used for cooking and everyday activities like different handicrafts, while the eastern room may have been reserved for dining.

In addition to the above-mentioned dwelling houses, a probable smithy (*GB3/II*) was excavated in the easternmost part of the village. A large quantity of iron slag was found in connection to an oven and fragmentary wall remains. The interpretation of the building has involved a debate whether a smithy would have been placed next to the dwelling houses, due to the fire hazard. Still, a smithy would best explain the large amount of slag found in connection to the house, as well as the lack of finds normally connected to a dwelling, such as ceramics.⁹⁶⁸ Besides iron slag, a number of small iron objects like horseshoe nails and tools

⁹⁶¹ Porvoo I KO a:1: 18.

⁹⁶² Koivisto, R. 2009: 91; Mikkanen 2015: 67.

⁹⁶³ Suhonen 2004: 20.

⁹⁶⁴ Mikkanen 2015: 67.

⁹⁶⁵ KM 2003102: 790; see Haggrén & Terävä 2013.

⁹⁶⁶ Koivisto, R. 2009: 91.

⁹⁶⁷ Valonen & Vuoristo 1994: 26–28.

⁹⁶⁸ Suhonen 2004: 25–28; Koivisto, R. 2009: 92–93.

were found in the building. These may have been manufactured in the smithy, but it is also possible that the building served as a general workshop for different purposes. As no clear foundations for the southern wall of the building were found, it may have been a partly open shed.

Besides the more distinct building remains, several fragmentary constructions and cultural layers were found in Gubbacka. However, these were poorly preserved and could not be clearly linked to buildings, although some additional buildings have tentatively been identified. Remains of the stone foundation of another possible building, *GB3/I*, were found right next to the north-west corner of *GB3/II*. As only the south-eastern part of the structure was excavated and no dateable objects were found in connection to it, its function and dating remain open. Further east, the remains of a possible fireplace, *GB4/II*, were excavated. A piece of 16th-century redware was found in connection to the structure, suggesting that the fireplace was late medieval.⁹⁶⁹

All the buildings excavated in the eastern part of Gubbacka may have belonged to a single late medieval farmstead. The buildings were located close to each other, some of them corner to corner, and different buildings had different functions. It is also possible that the two westernmost buildings, *GB 1/I* and *1/II*, belonged to another farmstead or were perhaps used somewhat earlier than the buildings to the east. Based on the finds, *GB 2/I* and *2/II* were two separate buildings or two rooms of a dwelling house where different activities took place. *Building GB 3/I* east of it was likely used by the farm's inhabitants for handicrafts, especially ironwork.

Besides the excavated buildings, several ovens have been mapped on the site during field surveys. In addition to the excavated buildings, some building remains were identified in test pits, but these were not studied in detail. It is difficult to date the unexcavated structures, but as noted previously, it is likely that they belong to the late medieval settlement phase of the village. Based on the documented buildings, altogether some 20 of them, there were several farmsteads on the plot, and these were located along the village road in a quite regulated manner. Additional ten building foundations were found at the Labben site north-west of Gubbacka during a field survey in 2002. However, these have not been excavated or dated more closely, so the structures may be post-medieval.⁹⁷⁰

10.3 MATERIAL CULTURE

Gubbacka was deserted by the early 17th century, and since then there has been no heavy land use at the site. Therefore, the material gathered during the excavations can mainly be connected to medieval and early modern village settlement. (Table 10.2) Some more recent finds, such as pieces of porcelain cups or beer and wine bottles, have also been catalogued, but these have been omitted from the analyses here. These finds likely ended up at the site when people working in the surrounding fields had their coffee breaks, as the fields have been cultivated since the Middle Ages to this day. Riina Koivisto has studied the finds from Gubbacka in her master's thesis in 2009,⁹⁷¹ and Riikka Väisänen has worked with the ce-

⁹⁶⁹ Suhonen 2005:19–22.

⁹⁷⁰ Suhonen 2002a.

⁹⁷¹ Koivisto, R. 2009; see also Koivisto, R. 2010.

ramics from Gubbacka.⁹⁷² Their work has been extremely helpful for the interpretations in this chapter.

Building and living

Over half of the finds connected to building and living in Gubbacka are nails and pieces of flint or quartz connected to striking light, followed by different types of iron rods, plates, fittings, and clasps (Table 10.3). In addition, there are three keys and a lock among the finds.⁹⁷³ A candleholder⁹⁷⁴ shows that candles were used in the village during the Late Middle Ages. Some window glass was also found, but as the pieces were not clearly concentrated around a given building, it is difficult to determine if the shards originate from a small number of windows or if glass panes were commonly used.

Table culture and cooking

Ceramics

In Gubbacka, the amount of found ceramics is quite small (Table 10.4; Fig. 10.10 and Fig. 10.11). Only 228 pieces of medieval or early modern ceramics have been found, which is notably less than the 345 pieces in Mankby or the 482 pieces in Mäkkylä, let alone Mårtensby or Köklax, where the material also contains ceramics from

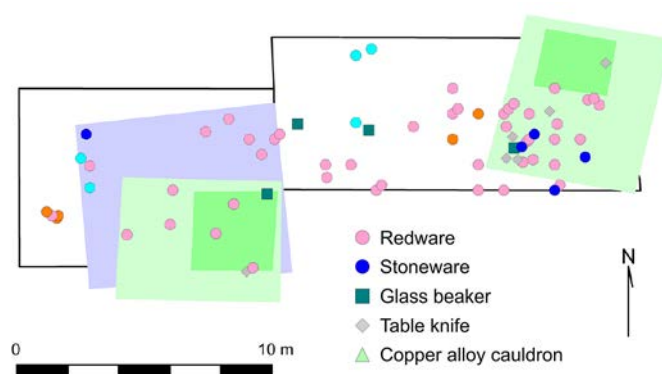
Object groups	No
Building and living	971
Cooking and table culture	238
Personal objects and clothing	38
Handicrafts	88
Agriculture	7
Hunting and Fishing	13
Horses and riding equipment	132
Trade	9
Leisure	3
Undefined	209

Table 10.2 Finds related to different object categories in Gubbacka.

Building and living	No
Candlestick	1
Clasp	6
Iron Fitting	2
Flint	218
Key	3
Nails	567
Padlock	1
Plate	33
Quartz	86
Ring	4
Rivet	9
Rod	23
U-shaped staple	2
Window glass	16

Table 10.3 Finds related to building and living in Gubbacka.

Fig. 10.10 Distribution of finds related to table culture and cooking in western part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinen.



⁹⁷² Väisänen 2010; Kadakas & Väisänen 2012.

⁹⁷³ KM 2003102: 5, 139, 588, 899.

⁹⁷⁴ KM 2003102: 658.

Table culture and cooking	No
Copper alloy cauldron	4
Earthenware	11
Glass beaker	5
Hard-fired greyware	2
Majolica	9
Redware	189
Stoneware	6
Table knife	12

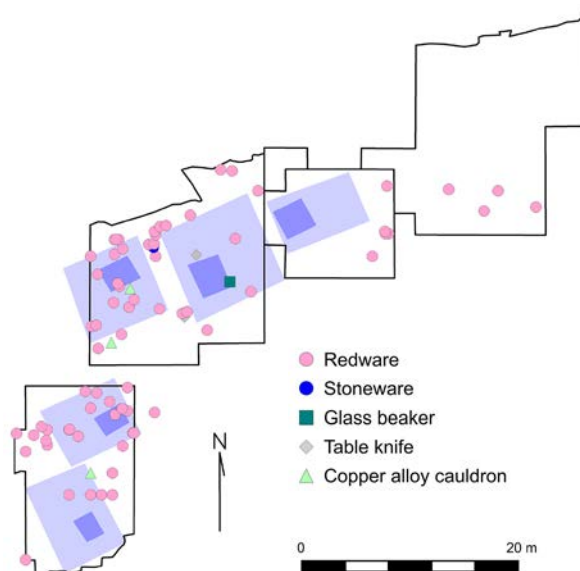
Table 10.4 Finds related to table culture and cooking in Gubbacka.

the late 17th and 18th centuries. Almost 90% of the material in Gubbacka is composed of late medieval or early modern redware, mainly tripod pipkins. Based on the rim shards, there might be as few as 15 pipkins in the material, but this is likely an under-estimation, as typically only single shards from a given vessel have been found. The material also includes shards of two redware bowls, both decorated with *bolus* stripes and one with additional *hemring* points.⁹⁷⁵

The find material contains only six shards originating from stoneware vessels. The shards belong to three or possibly four separate vessels, two of the pieces being from vessel(s) manufactured in Siegburg presumably in the 14th century, one piece of possibly younger Siegburg stoneware from the 15th century, two pieces originating from Lower Saxony and manufactured during the second half of the 14th century or the first half of the 15th century, and one piece made in Langerwhere in the 15th century.⁹⁷⁶ Most of the stoneware was found in connection to *building 3*.

There were very few low-fired earthenware ceramics among the finds from Gubbacka. There is only one shard which resembles the Late Iron Age or early medieval low-fired earthenware ceramics,⁹⁷⁷ and even this piece may originate from a crucible or the mouthpiece of a bellows. Low-fired earthenware was clearly not widely used in Gubbacka. There are also seven shards of coarse, thick-walled, hand-formed ceramics.⁹⁷⁸ These pieces were originally interpreted as local Iron Age ceramics, but according to TL analysis, they date to the 15th century.⁹⁷⁹ Two shards of unglazed wheel-turned ceramics with an outwards-profiled rim in the material may represent older redware ceramics.⁹⁸⁰

In addition to more common types of ceramics, nine shards of an early modern majolica jar were found. The vessel probably dates to the early 17th century and originates from the



► Fig. 10.11 Distribution of finds related to table culture and cooking in eastern part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

⁹⁷⁵ KM 2003102: 102, 104; KM 2008043: 8.

⁹⁷⁶ KM 2009083: 120, KM 2010077: 229; KM 2003102: 447; KM 2010077: 226, 227; KM 2010077: 228; Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 342.

⁹⁷⁷ KM 2008043: 56.

⁹⁷⁸ KM 2009083: 126, 185; KM 2010077: 111, 112, 181.

⁹⁷⁹ Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 344; Hel-TL04208, 500 ± 70.

⁹⁸⁰ KM 2008043: 94, 95.

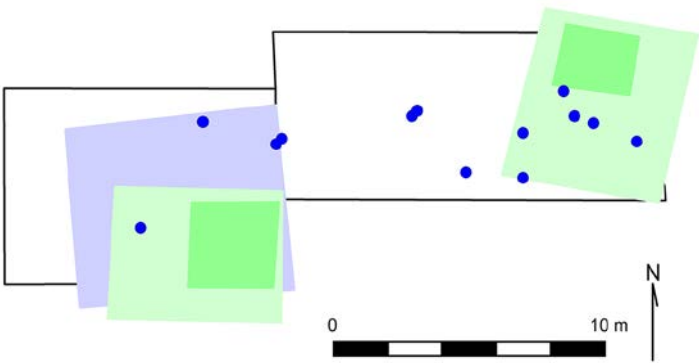
Netherlands.⁹⁸¹ Furthermore, there are two shards originating from a hard-fired greyware vessel or vessels probably manufactured in Bohemia or Southern Poland during the late 16th or early 17th century.⁹⁸²

Other tableware

Among the finds from Gubbacka, there are five shards of glass which originate from medi-eval beakers that were manufactured following the Bohemian tradition in the 14th or 15th century.⁹⁸³ Glass vessels were clearly used in the village already in the Middle Ages, but their number appears to have been small. No shards of early modern glass beakers like *passglas* have been found in Gubbacka. Fragments belonging to at least seven table knives have also been identified in the find material. The handle of one of the knives has been decorated with copper alloy fittings, and the end of another knife is decorative, but otherwise the table knives used in the village seem to have been quite simple.⁹⁸⁴ Pieces of copper alloy cauldrons have also been found in Gubbacka.⁹⁸⁵ In 1577, the Russians stole 21 kettles (*ketzler*) from Västersundom, showing that a large number of metal cooking vessels were being used in the village, and a single farm could own up to four kettles at this point.⁹⁸⁶

Personal objects and clothing

Among the finds from Gubbacka, there are several buckles of both copper alloy and iron, which likely originate from clothing (Table 10.5; Fig. 10.12 and Fig. 10.13). The buckles are all quite simple and undecorated. A number of fragments originating from copper alloy fittings have also been found, and these may have belonged to clothing as well. It is also possi-ble that these, as well as a copper alloy jingle bell, have been used as decorations for horses' harnesses. The only piece of jewellery found in Gubbacka is a simple copper alloy finger ring.



Personal objects and clothing	No
Copper alloy buckle	3
Copper alloy button	2
Copper alloy finger ring	1
Copper alloy fitting	17
Iron buckle	10
Iron button	1
Decorative iron mount	1
Jingle bell	1
Lead seal	1
Tweezers	1

Fig. 10.12 Distribution of finds related to personal objects and clothing in western part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

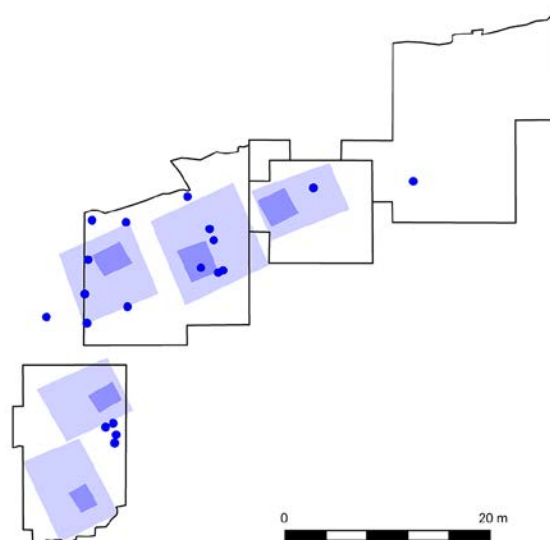
Table 10.5 Finds related to personal ob-jects and clothing in Gubbacka.

⁹⁸¹ Kadakas & Väisänen 2012: 343; KM 2009083: 125, 183, 184; KM 2010077: 170, 169, 170.
⁹⁸² Väisänen 2016: 162; KM 2008043: 15, 84.
⁹⁸³ Haggren & Terävä 2013: 45–46; KM 2003102: 790; KM 2009083: 186; KM 2010077: 103, 166, 225.
⁹⁸⁴ KM 2010077: 133, 154; KM 2010077: 199.
⁹⁸⁵ KM 2003102: 248, 609.
⁹⁸⁶ KA 161: 16r–17v.

Fig. 10.13 Distribution of finds related to personal objects and clothing in eastern part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

Still, the inhabitants of the village clearly cared for their appearance, as there is also a pair of tweezers among the finds.⁹⁸⁷

There is one cloth seal among the finds from Gubbacka, but so far its origin has not been identified.⁹⁸⁸ The list of items stolen by the Russians in 1577⁹⁸⁹ shows that the villagers owned a variety of textiles in the late 16th century. Most of the textiles mentioned in the list are pieces of different types of outer garments or *weipor*, which may have been used as bedcovers or clothing,⁹⁹⁰ but pieces of leather clothing are also mentioned.



Handicrafts

Most of the finds connected to handicrafts in Gubbacka are knives and whetstones, but there is also a large quantity of other types of objects among the finds (Table 10.6; Fig. 10.14 and Fig. 10.15). The relatively large number of identified tools among the material from Gubbacka might be partly related to their importance in the village, but even more so to the work

Handicrafts	No
Auger	6
Axe	1
Bone needle	1
Casting mould	2
Chisel	2
Crubicle?	1
Iron bar	2
Iron needle	2
Iron wedge	2
Knife	41
Spokeshave	2
Saw	1
Spud for peeling wood	1
Tool with a blade	2
Whetstone	22

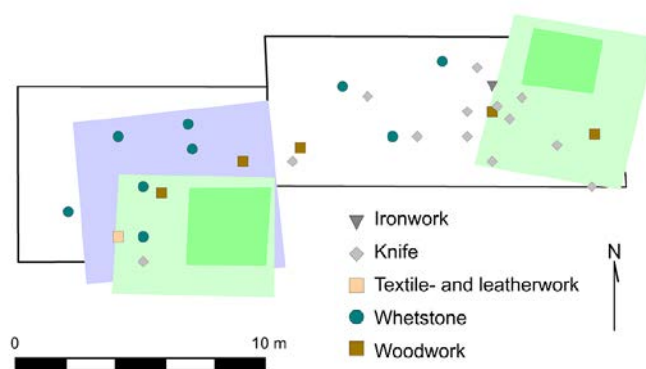


Fig. 10.14 Distribution of finds related to handicrafts in western part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

Table 10.6 Finds related to handicrafts in Gubbacka.

⁹⁸⁷ Väisänen 2016: 192; KM 2010077: 211; KM 2003102: 672.

⁹⁸⁸ Koivisto, R. 2009: 52–53; KM 2003102: 720.

⁹⁸⁹ KA 161: 16r–17v.

⁹⁹⁰ SAOB vepa.

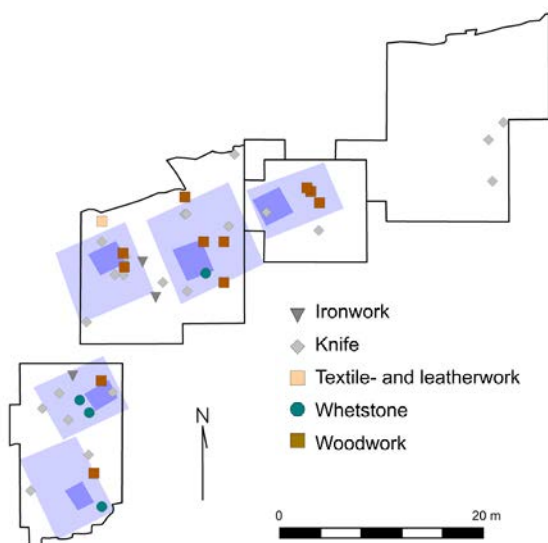


Fig. 10.15 Distribution of finds related to handicrafts in eastern part of Gubbacka. Map Tuuli Heinonen.

Riina Koivisto has done in identifying the material.⁹⁹¹ Many of the tools have been used for woodworking, including two carving irons, two iron wedges, an axe, a spud for peeling wood, altogether six augers, two chisels, and a fragment likely originating from a saw blade.⁹⁹² In contrast to Mäkkylä, no tools are recorded among the items stolen from Västersundom by the Russians in 1577.

There are two iron needles for sewing in the material, and a bone needle which was likely used to knit socks or so-called needle mittens, a type of mittens common in medieval and early modern Finland and

knitted with only one small needle.⁹⁹³ Textiles may also have been manufactured in the village, although the only evidence of this is the name of Thomas Wäffvare, who was mentioned in the late 16th century tax records.⁹⁹⁴

As discussed above, at least two smithies worked in the village at different time. There are also some finds connected to metalworking in the material. At least one iron bar has been found,⁹⁹⁵ and a large quantity of iron slag was collected during the excavations: approximately 62.5 kilograms in the eastern part and approximately 32 kilograms in the western part. According to analyses done on the slag found in the western part, it originated from forging iron objects.⁹⁹⁶ It is possible that small objects were also cast in the eastern part of the village, as besides iron slag, two casting moulds carved in stone were among the finds.⁹⁹⁷ In addition, a fragment of a small, coarse earthenware vessel may have originated from a crucible used in metalwork.⁹⁹⁸

Livelihoods

Some of the finds from Gubbacka – like a sickle blade, a scythe blade, fragments belonging to three different pairs of shears, and a bucket handle – can be connected to agriculture (Table 10.7).⁹⁹⁹ Still, the number of finds connected to agriculture is small

Agriculture	No
Bucket handle	1
Scythe blade	1
Shears	4
Sickle blade	1

Table 10.7 Finds related to agriculture in Gubbacka.

⁹⁹¹ Koivisto, R. 2009; 2010.

⁹⁹² KM 2003102: 515; KM 2010077: 6; KM 2003102: 565, 817; KM 2003102: 947; KM 2003102: 628; KM 2003102: 273, 475, 703, 877, 878; KM 2010077: 146; KM 2010077: 87, 198; KM 2009083: 108.

⁹⁹³ Koivisto, R. 2010: 89–90; KM 2003102: 152, 369, 598.

⁹⁹⁴ KA 3486: 258v–r.

⁹⁹⁵ KA 2010077: 99.

⁹⁹⁶ Willim & Grandin 2010.

⁹⁹⁷ KM 2003102: 78, 571.

⁹⁹⁸ KM 2003102: 1117.

⁹⁹⁹ KM 2003102: 172, 270, 283, 295; 2008043: 64; 2010077: 224.

Peasant	Cows	2-year-old cows	1-year-old cows	Sheep	Horses
Nilis Jönsson	6	2	1	9	2
Jöns Matsson	4			7	2
Morthen Andersson	3	1	1	5	1
Jacop Hendrichsson	3			8	1
Lasse Persson	3			8	1
Anders Nilsson	2				

Table 10.8 The amount of cattle kept by the villagers in 1571.

compared to its importance. According to plant remains and tax records, barley, rye, and oats were cultivated.¹⁰⁰⁰ Livestock was also kept, and in 1571, the six farms paying the silver tax owned altogether 26 heads of cattle, 37 sheep, and seven horses (Table 10.8).¹⁰⁰¹ In 1623, when the livestock of seven of the farms was counted, the numbers were even greater: 15 horses, eight foals, three bulls, seven oxen, 51 cows, 25 young cows, 54 sheep, 25 young sheep, and 18 pigs.¹⁰⁰² One of the farms owned four of the horses and three foals, which was a large number in the early 17th century. The farm, owned by Jacob Sigfredsson, equipped a cavalryman, which explains the need for horses.¹⁰⁰³ The archaeological finds also tell about horses in the village, as they include some horseshoes, a large number of horseshoe nails, and ice shoes for horses (Table 10.9). There are also two spurs in the find material.¹⁰⁰⁴ In addition to the animals listed in the tax records, the bone material shows that chickens were kept in the village.¹⁰⁰⁵

Archaeological finds show that besides agriculture, hunting and fishing were part of the subsistence (Table 10.10). One positively identified and four possible hand-bow arrows and one spearhead are likely connected to hunting.¹⁰⁰⁶ It is also possible that the two crossbow arrows which have been found in Gubacka have been used for hunting, although they may also have been used as weapons.¹⁰⁰⁷ The bone material gives some idea of the species that were hunted, and Hanna Kivikero has identified elk, hare, and squirrel as well as different wild birds among the bones.¹⁰⁰⁸

Horses and riding equipment	No
Bit fragment	1
Horseshoe	7
Horseshoe nail	104
Horseshoe nail for winter	11
Ice shoe	2
Spur fragment	2

Table 10.9 Finds related to horses and riding in Gubacka.

Hunting and fishing	No
Arrowhead	7
Fishing hook	4
Fishing line weight	1
Spear head	1

Table 10.10 Finds related to hunting and fishing in Gubacka.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Vanhanen 2010: 148, 154–156; e.g. KA 2920: 127–131; KA 2969: 12; KA 3486: 258v–r.

¹⁰⁰¹ KA 3324: 67v–r.

¹⁰⁰² KA 3623a: 22r–23v.

¹⁰⁰³ KA 3604: 13v.

¹⁰⁰⁴ KM 2003102: 168, 1124.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Kivikero 2010: 168–169.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Koivisto, R. 2009: 67–68; KM 2003102: 499, 313; KM 2010077: 162, 203; KM 2003102: 690.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Terävä 2015: 118; KM 2003102: 290; KM 2010077: 157.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Kivikero 2010: 167–168.

The finds connected to fishing include four fishing hooks and one weight used on a fishing line.¹⁰⁰⁹ There are different species of fish in the bone material, and osteological analyses have shown that different local species of fish were brought to the village fresh after being caught.¹⁰¹⁰ Västersundom's location on the seashore and the importance of fishing are also clearly visible in the written documents. As noted above, already the first written document in which the village was mentioned concerned fishing rights in the area.¹⁰¹¹ In the 16th century, peasants were once fined for fishing on a church holiday and on several occasions when they refused to catch or salt fish for the administration.¹⁰¹² In many cases, the inhabitants of Västersundom broke the law together with peasants living on the seashore or on the islands close to the coast,¹⁰¹³ suggesting that they were at home in the coastal and maritime environment. There was even one incident in 1547 when a peasant in Västersundom, Erik Jönsson, refused to lend his ship (*skep*) to the Crown.¹⁰¹⁴

Other finds

Some of the most exceptional finds among the material from Gubbacka are the scabbard and the fragment possibly belonging to an armour gauntlet.¹⁰¹⁵ Both are more typical finds for military than rural contexts. In addition, the finds include the three above mentioned medieval bracteates dating to 1354–1363. As coins are rarely found in rural villages this early, Frida Ehrnsten has suggested that they may originate from a small hoard, especially as they were found stacked together, which is typical for hoards. All these exceptional finds are connected to *building* 3. Other found coins date to the 16th century, two of them to the first quarter and one to the second half of the century. In addition, a French jetton used for counting, dating to 1400–1550, was found.¹⁰¹⁶

The finds also included a small die made of bone and a small stone object, which may have been used as a token in some kind of a game.¹⁰¹⁷ These finds offer rare glimpses into the ways in which the inhabitants spent their spare time. There is also one fragment of a clay pipe among the finds,¹⁰¹⁸ but as the fragment is an undecorated small piece, it is hard to tell if it dates to the last settlement phase on the plot in the early 17th century, or if it ended up on the site later. In any case, the plot was clearly abandoned before smoking became widely popular in Finland.

¹⁰⁰⁹ KM 2003: 118, 467, 521, 551, 1049.

¹⁰¹⁰ Kivikero 2010: 168–169.

¹⁰¹¹ DF 540.

¹⁰¹² KA 3009: 2v; KA 3022a: 51v; KA 3278: 199v; KA 3302: 30.

¹⁰¹³ KA 2994: 59; KA 3302: 30; KA 3308: 205v.

¹⁰¹⁴ KA 2961: 277.

¹⁰¹⁵ KM 2010077: 259; KM 2010077: 223.

¹⁰¹⁶ KM 2010058 Money cabinet/ National Museum; KM 2003041 Money cabinet/ National Museum; Ehrnsten 2019:174, 228–330, 337; Ehrnsten, pers. comm. 17.4.2021.

¹⁰¹⁷ KM 2003102: 621; KM 2010077: 182.

¹⁰¹⁸ KM 2003102: 729.

10.4 Medieval and early modern settlement in Gubbacka – a summary

The first clear signs of continuous land use in Gubbacka are related to a smithy, which operated on the later village plot from the 10th to the 13th century. Even though no remains of dwelling houses have been found in connection to it, there has likely been settlement in the area, but it may have been seasonal rather than a large farmstead or a village. The first people to use the site were probably fishermen from Tavastia, who used the smithy to manufacture small everyday objects they needed during their fishing trips.¹⁰¹⁹ A village was founded in the area during the 13th and 14th centuries by Swedish colonists, and as there are no signs of conflict in the Västersundom area before the 14th century, this was likely a peaceful process. However, by the 14th century the different ideas of how the resources in the area should be shared culminated in a legal dispute over the fishing rights in the area between the Tavastians, who had previously used the area, and the Swedish-speaking villagers.

During the Late Middle Ages, based on the archaeological remains there were at least two, and possibly even four, farmsteads on the plot, one or two in the eastern and one or two in the western part of the area. It seems that the excavated buildings had different functions at this point. This is especially evident with *buildings GB2/I* and *GB2/II*, which may have been rooms belonging to a two-roomed cottage. It seems that different everyday activities took place in the western building or room, *GB2/I*, while the eastern room was reserved for dining. East of this building was another building or a partly open shed, probably a smithy. In addition to these buildings, a sauna seems to have been located in the western part of the same yard. In the western part of the plot, only two late medieval buildings have been excavated. The eastern one of these, *building 2*, was a dwelling house, while the western *building 1* may have been an outbuilding or kitchen.

It is likely that the plot excavated in Gubbacka was an old plot of Västersundom, used before the village was moved to Heikbacka in the northern part of the village. Based on the archaeological material, the old plot was deserted in the late 16th or early 17th century as a result of a gradual process.

¹⁰¹⁹ Heinonen 2020.

11 SOCIAL AND MATERIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE LIFE IN THE VILLAGES

The five examples presented in the previous chapters offer a good idea of the varied nature of the social and material worlds of the medieval and early modern villages in central Uusimaa. Villages have long been the focus of detailed historical studies, and the work of scholars like Seppo Suvanto has revealed much about their social life.¹⁰²⁰ So far, the material side of village life has been less studied, mainly because of the lack of suitable research material. As archaeological excavations have increased and the material culture has been brought into the reach of researchers, it is possible to extend the studied phenomena to the built environment the objects people used. This now also offers possibilities to study the social world, as the two were closely entwined.

In this chapter, the different aspects of the social and material worlds of medieval and early modern villages are discussed based on the five case studies presented in the previous chapters. These examples do not offer a complete picture of the subject, but instead they illustrate the varied nature of the ways in which the material and social dimensions of life were connected.

11.1 THE FIRST VILLAGERS IN CENTRAL UUSIMAA

Uusimaa was a place where people with different backgrounds met in the Iron Age, especially from the 12th century onwards, when colonists from Central Sweden started to settle in the region. The colonisation from Sweden to Uusimaa was not a unique process at the time, as it was common for people from the western shores of the Baltic Sea to direct different kinds of campaigns to the eastern Baltic areas during the first centuries of the second millennium AD.¹⁰²¹ Many of these campaigns were called crusades and justified with the aim to convert people to Christianity, but in the case of the Swedish movement to Finland and Northern Sweden, the need to find new settlement areas for the growing rural population was also a central reason for the movement. At the same time, the emerging Swedish realm started to impose control over these areas.¹⁰²²

Before Swedes started to arrive in Uusimaa, the land users in the area had been mainly Finnish-speaking, although they did not form a uniform group. Place names show that dialects typical for Tavastia and Finland Proper were spoken in the area, and some of the objects found in Uusimaa were typically used in Karelia, possibly indicating that some of the people came from that direction.¹⁰²³ The type of land use likely varied in different parts of the region, with more permanent settlement in western Uusimaa and seasonal land use in the central part, with a lot of local variation.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰²⁰ See Suvanto 1987; 1995.

¹⁰²¹ Murray 2001; 2009.

¹⁰²² Lindkvist 2001; 2002: 43–49.

¹⁰²³ Kepsu 2005; Wessman 2016.

¹⁰²⁴ Heinonen 2021a.

Based on place names and archaeological record, from the 12th century onwards both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking people were involved in founding the villages studied in this work.¹⁰²⁵ The only site with a clear Iron Age use phase is Gubbacka, but the Iron Age activity there was likely based on seasonal long-distance land use from the Tavastia region, and a village was founded first during the colonisation period, likely by the Swedish colonists.¹⁰²⁶ It seems that in central Uusimaa, villages were first founded during the colonisation period, as even in Gubbacka the intensive settlement only began during the 13th century. The same is true for the villages with a Finnish name, Mäkkylä and Köklax, where the earliest traces of settlement date to the late 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁰²⁷ The medieval landscape of small villages in central Uusimaa was created together by the different language groups.

When discussing the colonisation period in Espoo, Ulrika Rosendahl has underlined the interaction and communication between the two language groups during their encounter.¹⁰²⁸ Both she and Anna Wessman have noted how the settlement history of Uusimaa has previously been marked by language politics, and therefore little attention has been paid to Iron Age settlement and the possibly peaceful and varied encounters between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking groups in medieval Uusimaa.¹⁰²⁹ Therefore, a re-evaluation of the settlement process in the region is important.

According to recent research, the relationship between the two language groups was mostly peaceful during the colonisation period.¹⁰³⁰ However, the lack of conflicts is only one aspect of this relationship. The objects used in medieval Uusimaa can also reveal a great deal about how the people themselves experienced everyday life in a bilingual area where the settlers came from different backgrounds. Material culture could be used to negotiate identities, express a person's place in the community, and construct people as social beings.¹⁰³¹ As identities are constantly being negotiated and redefined,¹⁰³² changes in material culture can express their gradual change.

Based on metal detectorist finds from Espoo, Anna Wessman has suggested that dress ornaments typical of Finnish regions were used by the Finnish population as a way to differentiate themselves from the Swedish newcomers in the multicultural early medieval environment of Uusimaa.¹⁰³³ Besides dress ornaments, pottery resembling Finnish Iron Age-type ceramics was used in Uusimaa, as is shown by the excavated material from Mäkkylä. Objects typical of Finnish regions seem to be concentrated in the villages with Finnish names, in this case Köklax and Mäkkylä, so it seems that the Finnish settlers brought their material culture along while settling in Uusimaa. Everyday objects like pottery were used for practical reasons, but they may also have helped villagers to remember the familiar environment from which they had come, just like the case of Slavic immigrants moving to the Danish island of Bornholm in the Viking Age.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰²⁵ Kepsu 2005.

¹⁰²⁶ Salminen 2013: 86–96; Heinonen 2020.

¹⁰²⁷ Heinonen 2021b.

¹⁰²⁸ Rosendahl 2016.

¹⁰²⁹ Wickholm 2000; Rosendahl 2016; see also Tuovinen 2011.

¹⁰³⁰ Heinonen 2020.

¹⁰³¹ Svensson 2008; Naum 2014.

¹⁰³² Jenkins 2008: 17.

¹⁰³³ Wessman 2016: 25–27.

¹⁰³⁴ Naum 2014.

It is possible that the wheel-turned, profiled, and decorated low-fired earthenware vessels in their turn were introduced in Uusimaa by the Swedish settlers. Some of the shards found from Mankby¹⁰³⁵ and Köklax¹⁰³⁶ resemble the Baltic ware used in Sigtuna and the Mälardalen area in Central Sweden around 950–1250.¹⁰³⁷ Although the origin of this type of pottery used in Uusimaa is unclear, and the vessels may originate from different regions, it is possible that some of these vessels were either brought along by the Swedish newcomers in the late 12th and 13th centuries or manufactured by them following a familiar tradition.

Ulrika Rosendahl has characterised the medieval culture in Uusimaa as a hybrid culture, which resulted from the meeting of the Finnish and Swedish groups during the colonisation period. Along the lines of Fredrik Fahlander, by hybrid culture she refers to something that is not simply a mix of cultures, but instead something new emerging from the encounter. For Rosendahl, the low-fired earthenware ceramics – or what she calls Slavic ceramics – and the medieval village cemeteries are signs of this new hybrid culture.¹⁰³⁸ As the archaeological study of medieval villages in Finland has concentrated mainly on Uusimaa, it is difficult to say if these elements are only typical of Uusimaa or larger areas. Still, the different groups moving to medieval Uusimaa clearly brought along their languages and material culture, and the encounters between different people resulted in local solutions and adaptations. The early medieval material from Köklax, which contains both objects typical of Finnish areas and imported earthenware and proto-stoneware, is a good example of the local early medieval culture, which contained material originating from different areas.

Contacts in different areas were clearly an important element of life in medieval Uusimaa. Ulrika Rosendahl has discussed the importance of communication as part of the colonisation process involving different groups, and she has highlighted how language change and bilingualism must have been common in Uusimaa.¹⁰³⁹ Even later on, many of the people living in Uusimaa likely knew several languages; besides Finnish and Swedish, German and Estonian were probably quite widely known, resulting from the lively contacts with Tallinn.¹⁰⁴⁰

The material culture in the villages became more unified by the late 14th century, after which other types of ceramics than stoneware and redware became rare. Similarly, the personal objects typical of Finnish areas were replaced by objects used commonly around the Baltic area and Western Europe. These changes were likely connected to changes in identities as well. The colonisation process had ceased around the mid-14th century and the number of new people moving to the area waned by the end of the century. Resulting from this, settlement became more stable. It is possible that by this point, the inhabitants were starting to become ‘local’ instead of immigrants arriving from different directions, resulting in a diminishing need to remember and communicate their areas of origin. There were still differences in material culture between different farms and villages, but from the mid-14th century onwards these seem to start becoming more connected to social status instead of language groups. Identities are based on a number of things,¹⁰⁴¹ and it seems that other as-

¹⁰³⁵ E.g. KM 2010058: 498, 501.

¹⁰³⁶ E.g. KM 2002069: 83

¹⁰³⁷ See Roslund 2007: 400–468.

¹⁰³⁸ Fahlander 2007; Rosendahl 2016: 33, 40–42.

¹⁰³⁹ Rosendahl 2016: 41–42.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Salminen 2013: 358–369.

¹⁰⁴¹ Meskell 2007; Salminen 2018: 18–21.

pects of identity became more important at this point than those related to the language or origin of the inhabitants.

11.2 VILLAGES AS A PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT – DEVELOPMENT FROM THE 13TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY

The five villages studied in this work offer a good overview of the development of the built environment of the medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland. There is a notable disparity between written sources and archaeological material when medieval and early modern buildings are studied. In the medieval and early modern written sources concerning the studied villages, there are only three occasions where buildings are mentioned, while remains of approximately 40 buildings dating to the same period have been identified in the excavated material. The nature of these sources is also quite different: the three mentions of buildings in the written sources are random occasions, while the large body of archaeological material enables a systematic study.

The built environment and the changes that happened in it over time can tell a great deal about the social life in the villages. Buildings were constructed by the inhabitants, but they also structured the life in the villages and communicated different things.¹⁰⁴² The built environment was not static, but instead interacted with the people and remained in constant flux.¹⁰⁴³ As buildings were constantly interacting with the people inhabiting them, changes that happened in the ways of building can also reveal changes in the social world. By studying the use of space and the ways in which houses were built, how the different activities were arranged, and what kinds of private and common spaces there were in the villages, it is possible to discuss how the social life in the villages was arranged.

11.2.1 Development of the building practices

Based on the excavated buildings, some general lines of development in the building practices in central Uusimaa can be drawn. In ethnographic studies, it is typical to represent development from one type of a building to other as an evolution, with new innovations replacing the older ones.¹⁰⁴⁴ However, the archaeological material clearly shows that developments did not happen in a linear way, but instead different types of structures have been used throughout the studied period, even when new innovations were introduced. Therefore, it is difficult to place the developments strictly in different time periods. Buildings were also used for long periods and modified over time, often making it problematic to connect given structural details to a clearly defined time period. Structures may have been dismantled after the building was left out of use and the construction materials recycled, meaning that only some of the structures are visible in the archaeological material.

¹⁰⁴² Saunders 1990; Ingold 2011; Johnson 2014; Kühtreiber 2014; Schmid 2014.

¹⁰⁴³ Giles 2014: 14–15.

¹⁰⁴⁴ E.g. Valonen & Vuoristo 1994.

In Sweden and Finland, archaeological examples have shown that Late Iron Age and medieval wooden buildings could have been used for between 30 and 300 years, with the average age varying between 100 and 150 years at rural sites.¹⁰⁴⁵ The material from the five villages studied here suggests that the situation was similar during the medieval and early modern periods in Uusimaa, and some of the excavated buildings seem to have been occupied for long periods of time. This often makes it difficult to date different construction details or activities that took place in the buildings, as the archaeological material may belong to different use phases of a given building.¹⁰⁴⁶

The earliest remains, ca 12th–13th centuries

The oldest building remains in the studied villages date to the turn of the 13th century, if the Iron Age forges in Gubbacka are not included. In Mäkkylä, the first buildings were erected at the end of the 12th century, or during the following century, when the first houses were also built in Mankby and Köklax. The fireplaces in these buildings were simple stoves consisting of stones in a pit, often surrounded by a wooden frame. The stoves were typically located in the centre of the room, like in building RA2-D in Mäkkylä, and probably in the two oldest buildings in Mankby. The stove found in Köklax, R914, may have been located outside or in a light shelter. The only exception to the stoves is the possible oven with a clay dome located next to a wall in *building* RA3-A in Mäkkylä.

Ovens with a clay dome were well suited for cooking and, depending on the structure, also baking.¹⁰⁴⁷ Therefore, it is possible that *building* RA3-A was either a dwelling house, where food was prepared, or a separate kitchen. As the stove R914 from Köklax was also likely used for cooking, it seems that during the first settlement phases, special spaces for preparing food may have been common in the villages. Separate cooking spaces like outdoor ovens were often used in Finland during historical times,¹⁰⁴⁸ and examples are also known from archaeological material. The oldest outdoor oven found in Finland dates to the late 10th or early 11th century,¹⁰⁴⁹ and a separate medieval kitchen building dating to the 14th or 15th century has been found in Hangö, western Uusimaa, showing that these were used in different parts of the region.¹⁰⁵⁰

As wooden structures are typically poorly preserved at the rural sites in Finland, it is difficult to determine with certainty what kinds of walls and floors the earliest buildings in the villages had. Corner-notched timber walls started to become typical in Finland during the Late Iron Age,¹⁰⁵¹ and it seems that this was the most common building type in early medieval Uusimaa as well. The only clear exception to this is *building* 2 in Gubbacka, which had postholes in the corners and along one of the walls, suggesting that the walls were constructed with posts. Another building probably built with posts along the walls is the shelter or building connected to the stove R914 in Köklax.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Göthberg 2000: 108–109; Schmidt Sabo 2001: 31; Vuorela 2009: 198–190.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See also Schmid 2014: 59–60.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Mikkanen 2017: 12–13.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Vuorela 1975: 318–319; Mikkanen 2017: 5–6.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Uino 1986: 163–164, 191.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Jansson et al. 2010: 83.

¹⁰⁵¹ Nuñez & Uino 1998: 143–147; Viitanen 2001; Vuorinen 2009: 59–61.

Posts may have been more commonly used during the earliest settlement phases in the 13th century and even the 14th century than the material studied here would suggest, as several postholes have been found at the sites, but their function has mostly remained unclear. It is possible that buildings with a special function, like cooking or handiwork, were built with posts during the early settlement phases. In Köklax, for example, some of the postholes may originate from a building used for textile work during the earliest settlement phase at the site. As many of these buildings are marked only with some postholes and fragmentary cultural layers, they are difficult to identify during excavations.

A similar development in building practices happened also in Sweden around the same time.¹⁰⁵² From the Viking Age onwards, smaller buildings with corner-jointed timber walls started to become common, but the old way of building with posts continued alongside the new ways, sometimes resulting in hybrid buildings with features of both types of architecture.¹⁰⁵³ For example, single posts were sometimes used in timber buildings, possibly for structural details like a loft.¹⁰⁵⁴ It is possible that similar structures were built in Uusimaa as well. It seems that both building traditions were familiar to both language groups in Finland, as buildings were constructed with posts and timber walls in villages with likely Finnish origins (like Köklax) as well as in those probably founded by Swedish colonists (like Mankby).

There were wooden floors already in the oldest buildings in the studied villages, like *building RA2-E* in Mäkkylä or *building 29* in Mankby, and it seems that wood was the most common floor material in Uusimaa throughout the medieval and early modern periods. In Turku, floors were mainly wooden already in the earliest phases of the town in the late 13th century, and from the mid-14th century onwards almost all dwelling houses and most outbuildings had wooden floors.¹⁰⁵⁵ Some of the studied buildings may have had an earthen floor, but there are no traces of clay floors, even though clay was also sometimes used as floor material in Iron Age and medieval buildings in Finland.¹⁰⁵⁶ The wooden floor of *Saka 7-2* in Köklax was founded on a layer of clay. Clay was used under wooden buildings to protect them against dampness in Novgorod, north-western Russia, in the 9th and 10th centuries,¹⁰⁵⁷ and the clay foundation under *Saka 7-2* may have had a similar function.

Medieval building practices, ca 13th–15th centuries

After the 13th century, stoves became rare, even though they were still sometimes built in connection to ovens, like in *building 2* in Gubbacka. The only later exception seems to be the late 15th- or early 16th-century stove *R6-85* found in Mårtensby. As the dating of the structure is somewhat unclear, it may have been built earlier, or it may have had a special function like cooking, possibly functioning as an outdoor kitchen. In Turku, stoves were likely used until the mid-15th century, according to Liisa Seppänen.¹⁰⁵⁸ Compared to this, stoves seem

¹⁰⁵² Augustsson 1992; Rahmqvist 1992; Qviström 2007.

¹⁰⁵³ Gustafsson 2007.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Qviström 2007: 227.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Seppänen 2012: 681–683.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Kykyri 2003: 109–110; Vuorinen 2009: 49–50, 132–133; Seppänen 2012: 678–682.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Nosov 1992: 44.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Seppänen 2012: 709.

to disappear quite early in Uusimaa, although it is sometimes hard to distinguish between them and ovens based solely on the foundations.

Ovens with sturdier foundations replaced stoves in Uusimaa from the late 13th or 14th century onwards. Ovens became the most commonly used type of fireplace during the same period in other places, like in the town of Uppsala in Central Sweden,¹⁰⁵⁹ and they were also typical in medieval Turku.¹⁰⁶⁰ The ovens built in Uusimaa varied in shape, size, and construction details, which is typical also of the ovens excavated in Turku.¹⁰⁶¹ Most of the excavated ovens in the studied villages were built on a rectangular or U-shaped foundation, typically laid of large stones. The stones were often placed on top of a wooden foundation, and sometimes a wooden frame was built around them. In most cases, the stones of the crate, walls, and roof of the oven were laid with clay, and later even mortar was used. In addition, there are some examples of dry-stone structures, like the oven in *building RA2-C* in Mäkkylä.

No clear signs of smoke flues or chimneys leading the smoke outside the buildings have been detected, and even fragments of bricks possibly indicating a chimney are rare in the material before the 16th century. Therefore, it is likely that the smoke first escaped into the room where the oven was located and only then let out through a hole or channel in the roof or wall.¹⁰⁶² However, the upper structures of the ovens have rarely been preserved, and there may have been other kinds of solutions not visible in the archaeological material.

There may be several reasons why the larger ovens became popular. They were better suited for baking than the earlier clay-domed ovens. In Småland, the introduction of larger ovens for baking in the 16th century has been connected to rye bread becoming common,¹⁰⁶³ and it is possible that changes in foodways may also explain the medieval ovens in Finland. The large stone ovens were also better at storing heat.¹⁰⁶⁴ The climate started to become cooler in Finland during the second half of the 15th century,¹⁰⁶⁵ which might explain the increasing need for warmth in the buildings. Even though ovens had replaced stoves already before this, the cooling climate might be a reason for the ovens becoming larger during the late medieval and early modern periods.

After the 14th century, all the buildings seem to have had corner-notched timber walls. Their foundations vary notably, with some of the walls being founded on corner stones (*Mäkkylä, RA2-D*), some on sturdier or wider stone settings (*Mäkkylä, RA1-B*), and some on ditches (*Gubbaka, building 3*), with the lowest timbers possibly placed directly on the ground. Several types of solutions may have been used in a single house, like in *building 11* in Mankby, where the southern wall was founded on small stones and the northern wall on larger stones, possibly in two rows. There are no examples of large stone foundations (Fi. *kivijalka*, Sw. *stenfot*) in the studied material, although they were used in the younger buildings excavated in Köklax.

It is possible that the walls were founded directly on the ground in some cases. This might explain why it has not been possible to identify clear wall foundations for some of

¹⁰⁵⁹ Elfwendahl 1999: 149.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Seppänen 2012: 713–727.

¹⁰⁶¹ Seppänen 2012: 713–727.

¹⁰⁶² Vuorela 1975: 304–305; Mikkanen 2015: 12, 27.

¹⁰⁶³ Vestbö-Franzén 2011: 112.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Mikkanen 2015: 93, 96; 2017: 19.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Holopainen & Helama 2009; Huhtamaa & Helama 2017.

the buildings, like *building 2* in Gubbäcka. The custom of laying the lowest wall timbers directly on the ground is documented in the Finnish ethnographic material.¹⁰⁶⁶ This was still a common practice in the 17th century; for example, in the town of Tornio in Northern Finland, most of the buildings in the 17th century were built directly on the ground without any stone foundation.¹⁰⁶⁷

In some cases, a dirt bank was built against the wall for insulation. The 14th-century *building 3* in Gubbäcka is the only case where an actual dirt bank inside a building has been documented, but there may have been a similar structure in *building 11* in Mankby.¹⁰⁶⁸ *Building 11* is younger, from the late 15th century, and the interpretation is based on the stone foundation instead of an actual earth construction. Later historical and ethnographic materials show that dirt banks were commonly used as insulation in rural houses in Finland from the 17th to 20th century,¹⁰⁶⁹ but they are often difficult to identify in archaeological data.¹⁰⁷⁰ The earliest known example of dirt banks being built inside walls in Finland is from the late 11th or early 12th century, from the Mulli site in South-western Finland; in north-western Russia, similar structures were built even earlier.¹⁰⁷¹ Dirt banks were commonly used in Turku from the early 14th century onwards,¹⁰⁷² and a late 16th-century two-roomed cottage excavated in Old Helsinki possibly had a dirt bank in one of the rooms, but the sandy layer may also have been a fill layer used for founding the building.¹⁰⁷³ Archaeological excavations have shown that earth fills were used in medieval villages for levelling the ground before building.¹⁰⁷⁴

The first buildings with several rooms seem to have appeared in villages during the 14th century. There is only one possible example of a building with several rooms predating this in the material, *building 29* in Mankby from the late 13th century, but due to poor preservation the interpretation is tentative. However, it is possible that buildings with several rooms were also built in Uusimaa before the 14th century, as there are several early examples from the neighbouring areas. Timber buildings with several rooms were built already in the 10th century in north-western Russia,¹⁰⁷⁵ and one of the buildings in Mulli had two rooms: a dwelling room with a clay floor and a smaller storage space with a wooden floor. The building dated from the 11th to the 13th century, and it had timber walls.¹⁰⁷⁶ In Turku, the first examples of buildings with several rooms are from the 14th century.¹⁰⁷⁷

The 14th-century two-roomed cottage in Mankby (*building 23*) is the best example in the excavated material of a building with several rooms. A two-roomed cottage in a rural context is a rare thing in both Sweden and Finland this early. In Sweden, the first two-roomed cottages were built in the 13th and 14th centuries at manors and royal demesnes. In Finland, the earliest known examples of two-roomed cottages are from the Franciscan con-

¹⁰⁶⁶ Vuorela 1975: 408–409.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ylimaunu 2007, 32–35.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Knuutinen 2016: 115–116.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Vuorela 1975: 409; Valonen & Vuoristo 1994: 69–70.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Knuutinen 2016: 115–116.

¹⁰⁷¹ Vuorinen 2009: 50, 85–89.

¹⁰⁷² Seppänen 2012: 643–644.

¹⁰⁷³ Heikkinen 1994: 225–227.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Heinonen 2011.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Khoroshev & Sorrokin 1992: 136–138.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Vuorinen 2009: 73–74.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Kykyri 2003; Seppänen 2012: 813.

vent of Hamnö in Kökar and from Turku, where they were built from the early 15th century onwards.¹⁰⁷⁸ Besides the two rooms for living and an unheated hallway, the two-roomed cottage in Mankby had a stone cellar, which was also a rare construction in the medieval countryside in Finland.

Saka 7-2 in Köklax also had two rooms. In this case, one of the rooms was used for dwelling while the other room was likely a small storage in the end of the building, resembling the above-mentioned building in Mulli. These examples show how buildings with several rooms were more common in rural areas already in the Middle Ages than has previously been thought. Even in Turku, there are not many excavated examples of 14th- or 15th-century buildings with several rooms,¹⁰⁷⁹ so the two examples among the approximately 10–12 buildings dating to the 14th and 15th centuries is a notable number, especially as only some of the buildings have been completely excavated, making it difficult to determine the number of rooms in most cases.

The late medieval and early modern periods

Changes in building practices happened again after the early 16th century, but as three of the villages were deserted by the early 17th century, these changes are not equally visible at all the studied sites. Still, even based on the limited material, it is possible to observe some characteristic aspects of the late medieval and early modern periods. During the 16th and early 17th centuries, the ovens became larger than before, and clay was used more when building them than in the earlier phases. Brick fragments have also been found in connection to many of the 16th-century ovens, either originating from the oven walls or roof, or from a chimney.

It is unclear when chimneys were first built in rural areas, but this likely happened during the 16th century at the earliest. There is at least one occasion where a chimney is mentioned in a rural context in 1560 in Finland Proper, showing that some farm buildings had chimneys at this point.¹⁰⁸⁰ The founding of Helsinki in 1550 may have been a driving factor for chimneys to become more common in central Uusimaa, as the buildings in the new town were supposed to be equipped with one. In Turku, the first chimneys likely date to the 15th century, and they started to become more common during the following centuries. Still, even during the first half of the 17th century, over half of the buildings in the town seem to have been smoke cabins, showing that the new way of building was not adopted by all households simultaneously.¹⁰⁸¹

Because of the lack of direct evidence, window glass and tile stoves have also been used as indirect evidence to date the first appearance of chimneys.¹⁰⁸² Window glass dating to the 16th and 17th centuries has been found in every village. Even though the amounts are small, it seems that there were at least some glass windows in all the villages by the second half of the 16th century. As rural sites have been less studied in other areas of Finland, it is difficult to say if this is an exceptionally early date.¹⁰⁸³ There is at least one case where glass windows

¹⁰⁷⁸ Seppänen 2012: 813–815; Salonen & Haggrén 2016: 106–107.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Seppänen 2012: 813–819.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Valonen 1966: 113.

¹⁰⁸¹ Seppänen 2012: 723–724.

¹⁰⁸² Vuorela 1975: 320; Koivisto, R. 2009: 105; Seppänen 2012: 704–705, 723–724.

¹⁰⁸³ Haggrén 1994: 285; Haggrén 2009b: 85–87; Koivisto, R. 2010: 104–105; Terävä 2016: 141.

are mentioned in a rural context in a list of fines in Satakunta in the 1550s, so there is some historical evidence suggesting that glass windows were used in other areas of Finland around this time as well.¹⁰⁸⁴ In Turku, glass windows were used in ecclesiastical buildings already in the early 14th century. They started to become more common in secular contexts around the mid-15th century and more widely used during the 16th century.¹⁰⁸⁵ Less window glass has been found in other medieval towns in Finland, but the finds from other towns have not been studied as extensively as those from Turku. In Helsinki, glass windows were commonly used after the town was founded in 1550.¹⁰⁸⁶ Together with the brick fragments, the shards of window glass in the studied material suggest that there may have been some buildings equipped with a chimney during the second half of the 16th century.

Based on the studied sites, two-room cottages appear to have become more common during the 16th and early 17th centuries, as there are possible examples in both Mäkkylä (*RA2-A* and *R5-4*) and Gubbäcka (*GB2/I* and *GB2/II*). In both cases, the interpretation is mainly based on the close location of two contemporary heated buildings or rooms. No clear evidence, such as floor remains, was found in between the buildings, and in the case of Mäkkylä, the space between the two rooms was destroyed by a later road. Still, in both cases the found structures can best be explained as different rooms belonging to a single building. This is quite early, as in both Finland and Sweden two-roomed cottages are thought to have become common in rural villages only during the second half of the 17th and the 18th centuries, based on written sources and ethnographic material.¹⁰⁸⁷

In England and Sweden, it has been noted that the living space became more enclosed and divided into separate spaces, some with more public and some with more private functions, during the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁰⁸⁸ The increasing popularity of two-roomed cottages in Finland may be an example of a similar development here. In Gubbäcka, the finds connected to table culture suggest that one of the rooms of the two-roomed cottage was used for dining, possibly with guests, while the other room was used for cooking, likely by the household members. Thus, it seems that one of the rooms had a more public function, while the other room had a more private function.

The most notable changes in the living environment during the early modern period happened at Lillas in Mårtensby. Pieces of late 16th- or early 17th-century stove tiles and at least one fragment of a painted rhombic glass pane, likely originating from a cabinet window, were found at the site. Both were novelties, especially in the rural context, around this time. Tile stoves were introduced to Finland in the 15th century and became common in urban contexts during the 16th and 17th centuries. Stove tiles have rarely been found at rural sites dating to the medieval or early modern period,¹⁰⁸⁹ although the number of studied sites is also quite small. In addition, a large quantity of window glass was found at the site, some of it dating to the 16th and 17th centuries. These finds suggest that by the early 17th century, the main building of the farm was equipped with a chimney and some glass windows, with possibly at least one painted pane among them. Resulting from this, the main building was likely better lighted than previously, partly by the little bit of light the glass windows would

¹⁰⁸⁴ Valonen 1966: 113.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Haggrén 2012: 63–64; Seppänen 2012: 778–781.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Haggrén 1994: 285; 2009b: 85–87.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Augustsson 1992: 65–66; Talve 1997: 39; Beronius Jörpeland 2011a.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Johnson 1996; 2014; Rosén 2004: 249–252.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Majantie 2010: 24–26, 285–286.

let in, but mostly because this meant the disappearance of smoke from the living quarters, making the air clearer and enabling easier breathing. The building of a tile stove would also suggest that the main building had several rooms at this point, as the way the tile stoves were heated required at least two rooms.¹⁰⁹⁰

It is possible that the main building of the farm was relocated in a more visible location of the plot at this point, as a stone cellar was founded east of the old main building in the late 16th or early 17th century. It is unclear if a house was built on top of the cellar in the end, but there is some indication of this. The stone cellar was a somewhat exceptional structure, as stone cellars have been thought to first appear in rural areas in the 17th century.¹⁰⁹¹ The only other stone cellar in the studied material is the one belonging to the two-roomed cottage in Mankby, which like the cottage itself dates to the 14th and 15th centuries. Otherwise, only some cellar pits that likely had wooden walls have been excavated in Uusimaa; except for the cellars in Lillas, they have been quite small.

Some overall developments in building practices have been presented above, but it is still important to note that although the building practices followed some common lines for the most part, there were still notable differences between the buildings at the level of details. Clearly, the builders shared some ideas of how to build, but their practical solutions differed from case to case. Kate Giles has noted how the forms of buildings “*must be understood as the result of intimate, local negotiations and interpreted in the context [...] of lived in lives of men and women inhabiting the buildings, at particular times in the past*”.¹⁰⁹² When the medieval rural buildings in Uusimaa are studied, it becomes clear that despite the shared ideas, the skills and aims of the builders and the different environments affected the outcomes. Furthermore, the buildings were not static constructions but changed throughout the period they were inhabited and after they were abandoned.

11.2.2 From single farmsteads to denser settlement

If the estimations of the number of farms based on the amount of taxes the villages paid in the mid-16th century are accurate,¹⁰⁹³ there were between three to eight farms in the studied villages in the late 14th century. However, the number of farmsteads found during the excavations was significantly smaller at all sites. In Mankby and Köklax, only a single farmstead appears to have been located in the 14th century at the excavated plot, and the same likely goes for Mäkkylä and Gubbacka as well. The number of farms started to grow during the 15th century, and several late medieval farmsteads have been excavated or surveyed at all sites except for Lillas, where only a single farm was located from the late 15th century onwards.

There are several possible explanations for this settlement development. The villages may have been smaller at the end of the 14th century than previously thought, and they might have started to initially grow during the next century. It has been debated if the mid-14th-century plague epidemic reached Finland. Because no written sources mentioning the epidemic in Finland have survived, it has become typical to interpret this as a sign of

¹⁰⁹⁰ Majantie 2010: 289–290.

¹⁰⁹¹ Talve 1997: 35.

¹⁰⁹² Giles 2014: 15.

¹⁰⁹³ See Kerkkonen 1963: 77–82; Salminen: 2013: 259–263.

the plague not reaching the area or only breaking out as a minor epidemic.¹⁰⁹⁴ Accordingly, it has been suggested that settlement increased in Finland throughout the Middle Ages contrary to many other areas in Europe, where the population decreased in the second half of the 14th century as a result of the epidemic.¹⁰⁹⁵

Although it is difficult to study the settlement development in Finland prior to the 16th century due to the small number of written sources, the documents still contain some evidence of settlements being deserted in Finland already during the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁹⁶ More recently, archaeological surveys and excavations have shown that farms and villages were deserted throughout the Middle Ages, also during the second half of the 14th century,¹⁰⁹⁷ and in Lapland there is a clear decrease in settlement during the 14th century, visible as a gap in C14 dates from this period, compared to earlier and later times.¹⁰⁹⁸ The C14 dates from the studied villages do not show a similar gap, but it is possible that the second half of the 14th century was not a time when settlement in Uusimaa increased and the villages grew. However, based on the current material, this remains an open question.

Another explanation, which likely contributes to the settlement development visible in the archaeological material, is that the physical environment in the villages was rearranged during the 15th century. Historical maps show that in all of the studied villages, there were several plots deserted at different times, and it is possible that some of these were used already in the Middle Ages. A survey on the villages in Middle Sweden has shown that in cases where a historical village was settled already in the Late Iron Age or Middle Ages, the earlier settlement was often dispersed around the village area instead of in the later village plots known from the historical maps.¹⁰⁹⁹ Some Finnish examples also indicate that the earlier settlement in many villages moved to the historical village plots only gradually during the Late Iron Age and Middle Ages.¹¹⁰⁰

It seems that a similar development also happened in the villages studied in this work. In those villages where there was a large joint plot available, the farmsteads may have moved there from their previous separate plots during the Middle Ages. As noted above, there is only one farmstead visible in the archaeological material during the earliest settlement phase in all the studied plots. These plots may have belonged to settlements that met most of the criteria for a village, where separate farmsteads known by a common name were engaged in regular co-operation, but instead of the farmsteads being grouped together in a joint plot this early, they were dispersed throughout the village area. Apparently, the idea of a regulated village plot where several farms were located in a restricted space developed only gradually in Uusimaa.¹¹⁰¹ The villages were clearly dynamic environments, where the use of space developed throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. When studying the settlement in Öland, Jan-Henrik Fallgren has noticed that there the Iron Age villages, and also many of the medieval settlements, did not resemble the strictly organised villages

¹⁰⁹⁴ E.g. Meinander 1983: 243; Kallioinen 1998.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Kallioinen 1998: 449–451.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Oja 1955: 101–115; Sandnes 1981: 78; Orrman 1986: 45–60.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Haggrén et al. 2003; Haggrén et al. 2007; Haggrén 2011a.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Seitsonen 2021.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Beronius Jörpeland 2010; 2011b.

¹¹⁰⁰ Lehtonen 2000; Pihlman 2004; Tiilikkala 2016; Raninen 2017a: 41–42.

¹¹⁰¹ Heinonen 2021b.

of the 17th or 18th centuries.¹¹⁰² Clearly, the spatial arrangement of medieval villages was much more varied in medieval Sweden than the early modern examples would suggest, and the same is true for Uusimaa as well.

As the physical space and the social world were closely connected, the reasons behind the rearrangement of space in the villages during the Late Middle Ages raise an interesting question. Population growth explains the need to build more farmsteads, but it does not explain why these were placed in a regulated manner. Instead, the changes in legislation and administration may be a key factor behind this. The Swedish *landslag*, law of the countryside, first imposed on the whole realm around the mid-14th century, defined the ways in which a village plot should be divided between the peasants, and it gave orders regarding different aspects of land use.¹¹⁰³ The more regulated layout of village plots and farms started soon after this in the studied villages. In Mäkkylä, several farmsteads were founded on the plot during the second half of the 14th or early 15th century, and a similar development followed in other villages during the 15th century. Farmsteads were arranged along the village street in several of the studied villages. The regulated living environment may have been a result of the more regulated society, which reorganised the daily life in the villages and maintained the idea of social order. This change did not happen all at once but was a process that continued until the early modern period.

The development of a more regulated space is also visible in the way in which buildings were arranged on the farmsteads, although it is often difficult to define individual farmsteads in the material. No clear boundaries between the buildings have been found at the studied sites. According to the *landslag*, plot boundaries, like other boundaries, were supposed to be marked with stones.¹¹⁰⁴ Based on the excavated sites from Uusimaa, however, it seems that no heavy fixed structures were built between the neighbouring farmsteads there. Still, based on the excavated structures, it is possible to discuss the development of the farmsteads in some cases. The first buildings in all the villages seem to have been situated quite loosely around the plots, but by the 15th century there are examples of buildings placed corner to corner and forming more closed yards in Mäkkylä, Gubbacka, and Köklax. This development may have begun even earlier, at least in Mäkkylä, and there were differences between the sites, but by the Late Middle Ages, the development is clearly visible at most of the sites.

Interestingly, a similar development is visible in other parts of Europe as well. Matthew Johnson has discussed the enclosure of rural space in England from the 15th century onwards, referring to a development due to which the medieval open fields were replaced by more private, hedged fields. Johnson also notes a similar change in buildings, where the medieval open hall was gradually replaced by several more private rooms.¹¹⁰⁵ Christina Rosén has discerned a similar development in building practices in Halland, Southern Sweden, where the farmsteads started to become more enclosed spaces during the 15th century, as the buildings started to form a closed yard.¹¹⁰⁶

The reasons for the living spaces becoming more enclosed and private during the Late Middle Ages have been discussed, and several, often overlapping explanations have been suggested. These include the changes in values and social relations within the peasant com-

¹¹⁰² Fallgren 2006: 87.

¹¹⁰³ Holmbäck & Wessén 1962.

¹¹⁰⁴ Holmbäck & Wessén 1962: 98–100, 113; Hedvall 1997: 609.

¹¹⁰⁵ Johnson 1996; 2014.

¹¹⁰⁶ Rosén 2004: 249–252.

munity, the increasing wealth and improving status of especially the wealthier peasants, the society becoming ordered in new ways, and wider cultural developments.¹¹⁰⁷ In Sweden, it has been noted that the development was not straightforward. Space could be organised differently at different farmsteads, and although some of the developments made the space more enclosed and private, others, like glass windows becoming more common, opened the private spaces in new ways.¹¹⁰⁸ The sites studied in this work show similar variation, suggesting that local factors played a significant role in the arrangement of space.

The reasons for the rearrangement of the space in the studied villages are unclear, but they likely included the peasants' own ideas and initiation, as they were the ones responsible for building, as well as outside influences like population growth or changes in legislation. During the 16th century, the role of administrative decisions in shaping the village space became more explicit. Mankby was deserted after King Gustaf I decided to found a royal demesne in the area. In Mäkkylä, after the mayor of Helsinki acquired all the farms, the peasants left the village, and the area was turned into manor grounds. Both cases are good examples of how, despite the farms being owned by the peasants, the elites could still decide the fate of a village in medieval and early modern Finland.

11.2.3 The use of space in the villages

As the examples show, it is not always easy to study the use of space in the case of medieval and early modern villages. The excavations have mainly focused on buildings with ovens, so the excavated remains are often mainly related to dwelling houses and less to other spaces in the villages. Still, in order to gain a more complete picture of the life in the villages, it is important to discuss the other spaces as well. Different activities took place in different parts of the village, the space was organised into more closed and more open areas, and the village landscape was a lot more than just the plots where the farms were located. The villages were dynamic environments that were in constant change. These changes could happen for both practical and social reasons.

The distribution of different types of objects is a good way to study the use of space in the villages, as it allows discussion of the actions of people and the social structures behind these actions over a long time span.¹¹⁰⁹ However, as historical villages were often settled for an extended period, it can be challenging to study the use of space based on the mixed finds and fragmentary structures.¹¹¹⁰ At Finnish rural excavations, the number of identifiable and datable objects is often quite small, and the finds are often discarded in secondary contexts rather than left in the places of their original use. Most of the finds from the villages studied here have not been found inside buildings, but rather in yards or in some cases waste dumps.

Waste management at medieval and early modern rural sites in Finland has not been studied in depth, so it is unclear how the discarded objects were typically treated. Still, the small number of waste pits found at excavations suggests that waste was usually taken outside the plot. Some of the excavated layers at the studied sites have been interpreted as waste

¹¹⁰⁷ Johnson 1996; 2014: 111–112; Dyer 1997: 74.

¹¹⁰⁸ Rosén 2004: 249–252; Lagerstedt 2004: 200–202.

¹¹⁰⁹ Lagerstedt 2004: 98.

¹¹¹⁰ Schmid 2014.

heaps,¹¹¹¹ but as these seldom contain a large number of finds, it is possible that these layers instead belong to vegetable patches or such. These may have been fertilized with kitchen waste, but they were not the places where household waste like broken objects was systematically gathered. In England, there is a lot of archaeological evidence of household waste being used for fertilizing the fields.¹¹¹² A similar practice might explain what happened to the waste in medieval and early modern Finland. All in all, typically only a small number of discarded objects and their pieces are found at Finnish rural excavations.

Despite the challenges, the distribution of finds can shed light on the use of space in the villages. The distribution of slag, especially in Gubbacka, shows that metalworking was done in a separate area of the village, while the finds connected to other types of handicrafts do not seem to concentrate to particular areas in any of the villages. Metalworking required more space and special structures than most everyday activities, like sewing. On the other hand, much of the agricultural work and woodwork was likely done outside the village plots, namely, the areas on which the excavations have mainly focused. All in all, compared to Swedish medieval villages or farmsteads where the use of space has been studied based on the distribution of finds,¹¹¹³ there are less areas or buildings where a specialised function is visible in the studied material of Uusimaa. One explanation might be that there are very few finds connected to textile work (which in the Swedish examples is often restricted to a certain area on a farmstead) in the material from the five villages. Other reason might be that the excavated areas in Sweden are often larger compared to Finland, making it possible to study the distribution of artefacts over larger areas.

There are some examples of different activities having been concentrated in different buildings in the studied material. As discussed before, the two rooms in *buildings GB 2/I* and *GB 2/II* in Gubbacka had different functions based on the finds, with one of the rooms used for cooking and one for dining. In Köklax, there may have been a separate structure, *building Y107*, used for textile work during the earliest settlement phase. During the 13th century, some of the farmsteads had a separate building for preparing food. In both Mäkkylä and Köklax, the kitchens were located between five to ten metres from the main buildings, and in Mäkkylä the oven of the kitchen differed from the stoves used in other contemporary buildings at the site. A large concentration of the earthenware ceramics used for cooking was found around both kitchens, while in Köklax, proto-stoneware used for serving drinks was concentrated inside and around the contemporary dwelling house. When the large ovens suitable for baking started to become common during the late 14th and 15th centuries, it not only meant a change in the diet; many of the cooking activities were moved into the dwelling houses as a result. This concentrated the everyday activities in a single building more than before.

As excavations have mainly focused on the buildings, very little is known about the common spaces in the villages and the built environment further away from the dwelling houses. Archaeological material from the villages contains very few examples of the ways in which the space was organised with structures like fences or ditches. Most of the ditches excavated at the villages seem to be related to cultivation, like in the case of the fossil field excavated in Mankby or the ditch related to a possible vegetable patch in Gubbacka.¹¹¹⁴

¹¹¹¹ E.g. Koivisto 2008: 14, 18; Koivisto et al. 2012: 43, 81.

¹¹¹² E.g. Jones 2004.

¹¹¹³ Schmidt Sabo 2001; Lagerstedt 2004.

¹¹¹⁴ Koivisto 2008; Lempäinen-Avci et al. 2016.

Still, there must have been fenced areas in the village to keep cattle away from the fields. In Sweden, different types of traces of fences and other similar structures have also been found at excavations.¹¹¹⁵

Medieval roads have been documented in both Mankby and Gubbacka, and these were one of the spaces where the villagers and other people met. They also required co-operation from the farms, as they were maintained together by the villagers, just like bridges and fences.¹¹¹⁶ In Mankby, it has even been suggested that there was a common square at the centre of the village, where a crossroads was formed by the roads leading to the village.¹¹¹⁷ Another type of public place were the taverns or inns that operated in the villages. The two-roomed cottage in Gubbacka may have acted as an inn, and although this interpretation is tentative, there is historical evidence that an inn was at least planned in the village during the 17th century. Lillas was taxed for selling beer in the mid-16th century, so the farm may have acted as a tavern. Taverns were important for travellers, but they also offered a place where people could spend their leisure time and maintain their social relations.¹¹¹⁸

The villagers could use the village space and the location of their farmsteads to communicate their social position. However, as Lena Beronius Jörpeland has noted when studying settlement in Middle Sweden, the connection between the location of a farmstead and its social position was not something automatic; instead, it always depended on the context in question.¹¹¹⁹ The early modern main building in Lillas and the two-roomed cottage in Mankby show how buildings and space could be used to communicate and reinforce the social status or the social ambitions of the inhabitants in a similar manner, like Eva Svensson noticed in medieval Sweden.¹¹²⁰

Mankby is a good example of how much can be learned of the changes in the village space, when the areas without visible building remains are excavated extensively. In Mankby, the use of space changed throughout the period when the village was inhabited. During the first settlement phase, there appears to have been a small graveyard east of the dwelling houses, and the village fields began right next to the cemetery. In the 14th century, around the same time as a two-roomed cottage was built in the village, both the cemetery and the nearest fields were left out of use, and these spaces were incorporated into the village plot. It seems that in Mankby the village plot became more densely built during the second half of the 14th century. As the inhabitant of the two-roomed cottage was a member of the local elite, possibly even a nobleman, the changes in the village landscape represent an example of how different social groups could affect the use of space in the villages, possibly using the landscape to communicate their status.

Similar development also happened in Lillas. At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, the farm was moved to a new plot, away from the other farmsteads in the village. The plot where the farm was located before this may have become too crowded, but it is also possible that the wealthy peasant tradesmen living on the farm wanted to distinct themselves from their neighbours. During the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the space at the farm was rearranged. A stone cellar was built in the most visible place on the plot, and a new main

¹¹¹⁵ E.g. Andersson & Hållans 1997; Hedvall 1997; see also Holmbäck & Wessén 1962: 101–103.

¹¹¹⁶ Holmbäck & Wessén 1962: 98–151; Koivisto, A. 2010: 128–132.

¹¹¹⁷ Rosendahl 2008b: 94.

¹¹¹⁸ Lares 2020: 101.

¹¹¹⁹ Beronius Jörpeland 2011b: 175–180.

¹¹²⁰ Svensson 2008.

building was probably built in connection to it. The location of the cellar resembles the location of early modern manor houses in Uusimaa. Like the cellar in Lillas, they were often placed in a visible and high location, isolated from peasants and close to water. Ulrika Rosendahl has noted how these buildings, especially the few stone manors, reflect the social ambitions of the new noblemen in the 16th century.¹¹²¹ Still, stone buildings were an exception even for the nobility of Uusimaa, as most of the manors were still built of wood in the 16th century and even the 17th century, with only a stone cellar underneath them.¹¹²² It is possible that the cellar in Lillas was also planned as a foundation for a visible new main building, which was to express the wealth and social standing of the inhabitants during a period when they started to equip a cavalryman.

11.3 MATERIAL DEVELOPMENTS

In this chapter, some aspects of the material life in the villages are discussed. Material developments did not happen in isolation from social life, so the division between material and social is somewhat artificial but still useful when the material is analysed. The examples discussed in this chapter do not cover all the aspects of material culture in the villages, but they offer a good overview of its varied nature and the ways in which it was connected to the social life. First, the roles of crafts and trade are discussed. The objects the villagers used were either produced locally by themselves or by specialised craftsmen, or they were bought elsewhere. Therefore, both crafts and trade were central for the material culture. Secondly, tableware is discussed. A notable amount of ceramics has been found at all the studied sites, so it is possible to compare the pottery used at different locations. Although the material is not very varied and much of it is hard to date precisely, there are some interesting changes in the material over time. There are also clear differences between the various farmsteads and villages. Tableware may tell a lot about the inhabitants' wealth, contacts, and familiarity with table manners.

Thirdly, the focus is turned towards personal objects, mainly the dress accessories and pieces of jewellery people used. As these were a part of the appearance of a person, they were a good way to communicate things like social status, affiliations, or identity. The find material does not include many personal items, but even the few existing objects can shed light on different sides of life in the villages. Finally, the ways in which religion and folk beliefs are visible in the studied material are discussed. The discussion on medieval and early modern religion is often centred around the Church, but in everyday life, religion was practised in ways that also contained older beliefs. Archaeological material may reveal new dimensions of these.

11.3.1 Crafts and trade as livelihoods – making and buying objects

Both archaeological material and written sources tell about the different sides of the main form of livelihood practised in the villages: agriculture. Agriculture was central for the day-

¹¹²¹ Rosendahl 2007b.

¹¹²² Rosendahl 2003.

to-day subsistence, and it was complemented by fishing and, to a smaller extent, hunting. Rye and barley were the most important crops, but oats were also cultivated. Macrofossil studies have shown that different legumes were used, and wild plants and berries were gathered. Based on osteological analyses, besides the typical livestock visible in written records, chickens were also kept at the farms. Bone material demonstrates the importance of fish as part of the diet, which is not surprising, as all the villages were located close to the seaside and along rivers. Especially the fish bones and scales found in Lillas show that the farms may have used a large amount of fish, even in cases where there is little indication in the written records of the inhabitants fishing themselves.

However, the livelihoods practised at the farms did not consist only of growing and catching everyday food. People were also engaged in a variety of different handicrafts and trade in Finnish rural areas. The same is true for other parts of Europe, where different objects were both manufactured and traded in the medieval and early modern countryside. Iron was produced and forged by the peasants, ceramic vessels were manufactured, textiles were woven and sewn, and stone and organic materials like wood and bone were used to make everyday objects. European examples have shown that archaeology can offer many new insights into rural trade and crafts.¹¹²³

Crafts

Both archaeological and historical sources can shed light on the different crafts practised in rural areas. Most of the finds connected to crafts in the studied villages are tools used for woodworking, showing the importance of wood as an everyday material used for building and heating. Knives were also commonly used as multifunctional tools, and they are among the most typical finds from the villages. Whetstones used for sharpening blades were common and have been found at all the studied sites, but their origins have not been studied closer. Many were likely of local origin, but there is also some evidence that whetstones were imported to Finland in the Middle Ages.¹¹²⁴

Small crafts were practised on every farm, but there is also evidence of more specialised handicrafts in the rural areas. In medieval Sweden, crafts were commonly practised in the countryside. From the Late Middle Ages onwards, the Crown started to restrict many types of crafts to towns, but with little success. Because of the small number of towns especially in Finland, compromises had to be made to make sure that the rural inhabitants would be able to acquire products that were important for day-to-day life. At the same time, the Crown had to secure the livelihood for the craftsmen working in the towns. This resulted in increasing regulations during the 16th and early 17th centuries.¹¹²⁵ Still, different crafts were practised regularly in the medieval and early modern villages in Finland.

Place names often offer the most information about the different craftsmen living in the medieval Finnish countryside, as the names of the villages and farms could be based on the crafts practices in them.¹¹²⁶ Craftsmen and -women are often difficult to trace in the 16th- and early 17th-century written sources, but there is some indication of them in the tax records. Seppo Suvanto has studied the craftsmen in medieval and 16th-century

¹¹²³ Nilsson 2002; Peets 2003; Mellor 2005; Baug 2015; Rundberget 2015.

¹¹²⁴ E.g. Alvik & Haggrén 2003: 22; Wessman 2007: 142–143; Tevali 2009: 35.

¹¹²⁵ Heino 1984: 67–74.

¹¹²⁶ Kallioinen 1995: 88–89.

Satakunta, Western Finland, and found several persons who besides being farmers practised different crafts based on their bynames, with smiths, tanners, and cobblers being the most commonly mentioned among them. Suvanto has also discussed the social position of the craftsmen and discovered that those farmers who practised crafts had slightly fewer cattle in the 16th century than other farmers. Their farms seem to have been doing all right, but apparently crafts did not necessarily bring them any significant added income. Practising crafts could enhance a farmer's social position, but this did not happen automatically. There were differences between craftsmen; overall, smiths were wealthier than others. The smiths also held positions of trust more often than other craftsmen, suggesting that their social position differed.¹¹²⁷

Thomas Wäffvare, mentioned in late 16th-century Västerson, may have been a weaver, based on his byname. Words referring to professions may have sometimes been used as surnames even in Western Finland, where surnames were quite rare this early, but in most cases they tell about the handicrafts that peasants practiced.¹¹²⁸ The possibility of a weaver living in Västerson is an interesting one. Textiles were clearly worked at the villages, as is shown by a number of needles and thimbles found at the excavations, but finds related to weaving cloth are almost completely missing. There are only some fragmentary finds of loom weights or spindle whorls from Köklax, related to the 13th- or early 14th-century settlement at the site. Both osteological material and written sources show that there were sheep on the farms, so yarn was probably spun regularly, but the amount of textiles woven locally in the villages is unclear.

The most common find material connected to handicrafts in the Finnish medieval villages is iron slag resulting from metalworking. Especially iron was vital for people in the Middle Ages, as it was used for making a variety of everyday objects, and as these wore out, they had to be repaired or replaced with new items. In particular, agriculture required a large amount of iron, because tools like scythes, spade irons, and coulter were central for successful cultivation but wore out quickly with heavy use.¹¹²⁹ Slag connected to metalwork has been found at every site studied here, and the same is true for practically every medieval settlement site in Uusimaa. However, structures connected to actual ironworking are rarer. The reason for this might be that because of the fire hazard, the smithies were often placed further away from the dwelling area.¹¹³⁰ As excavations typically focus on dwelling houses, it is not surprising that smithies are found quite rarely when villages are studied.

The clearest archaeological evidence of metalwork comes from Gubbä, where two smithies have been excavated, one dating to the Late Iron Age and another to the Late Middle Ages. Small-scale bronze or lead casting may also have been practised at the villages, as a mould for making small metal items was found from Gubbä. Some pieces of smelted lead found in Lilla may be further evidence of smelting and recasting old lead objects to make bullets, for example. Place names also suggest that village smiths were common during the Middle Ages and early modern period. For example, in the early modern period, there were five or six farms called *Smeds* in the parish of Helsing, one of them in Mårtensby, indicating

¹¹²⁷ Suvanto 1987: 158–168.

¹¹²⁸ Suvanto 1987: 163.

¹¹²⁹ Karlsson 2015: 277–278, 285–286.

¹¹³⁰ Haggrén 2005a: 52–53.

that a smith (*smed*) had been living at these farms at some point.¹¹³¹ Apparently, there was a village smithy in Mårtensby.

Besides slag and structures connected to smithing, repaired metal objects tell about everyday metalwork. Based on the archaeological material connected to metalworking in Uusimaa, Elina Terävä has pointed out that at least some amount of ironwork was likely done at all settlement sites.¹¹³² The origin of the iron used by the peasants in Uusimaa has not been studied closer, but based on Helmich Ficke's account, iron was among the items brought to Uusimaa from Tallinn,¹¹³³ so at least some of the iron used in the villages was imported.

Some of the ceramics found at the villages may have also been manufactured locally. This is true especially for the low-fired earthenware, which was used in the studied villages from the 12th to the 14th century. However, no manufacturing sites have been found so far, and it is possible that the vessels were either brought to the villages by the first settlers or obtained through trade. Although pottery was commonly manufactured for household use in the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, the professional manufacturing of ceramics is a relatively late phenomenon in Finland. Based on changes in the amount of redware ceramics found in Turku, Aki Pihlman has suggested that local manufacturing there started by the first half of the 16th century.¹¹³⁴ The first written records of pot makers in Finland are from Turku and the castles of Häme and Turku in the 1540s–1560s. The earliest archaeological evidence of large-scale redware manufacture in Turku is even later, probably dating to the turn of the 17th century at the earliest.¹¹³⁵ As the production of lead-glazed redware ceramics became common in Finland first during the early modern period, it is likely that the medieval glazed redware vessels found in Uusimaa were imported, even though the possibility of local production has also been discussed.¹¹³⁶

Overall, both archaeological and historical records offer quite little information about the medieval and early modern crafts practised in central Uusimaa. Tapio Salminen has noted how the only groups of craftsmen who are clearly visible in the place names of the parish of Helsinge are smiths, tailors, and cobblers. Salminen has suggested that this might be because of the close connection between the parish and Tallinn. Peasants could easily purchase different things from Tallinn, so there was no need for specialised local craftsmen like coppersmiths.¹¹³⁷ This is a good example of the central role that peasant trade had for the local community in central Uusimaa – trade was important as a livelihood, but it also shaped the local social world.

Trade

In medieval and early modern Uusimaa, trade was an important way to acquire different goods, but it also offered the peasants an opportunity to enhance their economic situation and social standing. Peasant trade between Uusimaa and Tallinn was commonly practised,

¹¹³¹ Kepsu 2005.

¹¹³² Terävä 2017: 23–26.

¹¹³³ Kerkkonen 1959: 133; Salminen 2013: 314–317.

¹¹³⁴ Pihlman 1995: 202–203; 2003: 198–199.

¹¹³⁵ Tulkki 2003: 216–219.

¹¹³⁶ Holmqvist et al. 2014.

¹¹³⁷ Salminen 2013: 350.

despite the Crown's attempts to restrict it.¹¹³⁸ Trade was a way to purchase needed foodstuffs like salt and grain, but also to obtain objects like tableware and textiles. As there are only some surviving sources treating medieval and 16th-century peasant trade in Uusimaa, it must have been even more common than the surviving records tell. For example, Vincentius Jacobsson from Mankby and Erik Basse were likely more deeply involved in it than the scant written sources suggest.

Based on the account books kept by the Tallinn merchants, most of the items traded between the peasants from Uusimaa and the merchants were bulk goods like salt, grain, animal products, and wood.¹¹³⁹ The two last mentioned were exported from Uusimaa to Tallinn in large quantities, with some peasants collecting wares from around the parish and shipping them to Tallinn, showing that the trade was quite organised.¹¹⁴⁰ Tapio Salminen has calculated the volumes of peasant trade between Tallinn and Uusimaa; based on his calculations, these were large even based on the fragmentary sources. For example, over ten thousand beams were exported from Uusimaa just to Helmich Ficke in Tallinn between 1509 and 1542.¹¹⁴¹

One of the peasants responsible for the large number of beams was Göran Bonde from Lillas. Göran is a good example of peasants who were specialised in trade during the early 16th century. It was common for the peasants of Uusimaa to occasionally sail to Tallinn to purchase grain or salt, but for some of the peasants, like Göran, trade was a large-scale business and a central part of their livelihoods. Göran had an extensive network spanning the parish of Helsingfors. Through this, he acquired commodities like animal products and wood and then sold them to Helmich Ficke in Tallinn. In return, he got much-needed salt and grain, which he then distributed around the parish. Göran was not alone in his ventures but had a number of family members participating in the business.¹¹⁴²

Although the merchants' accounts give the most detailed information about the trade between Uusimaa and Tallinn, archaeological finds from the villages can complement it. Coins form the group of finds that can most easily be connected to economic activities such as trade. Typically, only a small number of coins tend to be found in excavations at medieval village sites, and the same is true for the sites studied here. According to Frida Ehrnsten, this is normal, as the everyday use of coins in rural surroundings in Finland seems to have become widespread first in the early 16th century.¹¹⁴³

Money is often mentioned in connection to taxes and fines the people had to pay, as well as the wages they received, but its presence in the villages is rarely mentioned explicitly. Still, especially those farmers who traded with Tallinn merchants had to be well acquainted with different kinds of coins, as both Swedish and Baltic coins were commonly used in Uusimaa. The monetary system in the Middle Ages was not a simple one, especially when dealing with money minted in different areas, but the peasants must have understood the system well enough to do business.¹¹⁴⁴ Although much of the late medieval trade between Uusimaa and Tallinn was based on barter trade, the monetary value of different commodities was still the

¹¹³⁸ Kerkkonen 1959: 12–30.

¹¹³⁹ Kerkkonen 1959; 1963: 124–131; Salminen 2013: 313–327.

¹¹⁴⁰ Kerkkonen 1959: 100–117.

¹¹⁴¹ Salminen 2013: 326–327.

¹¹⁴² Kerkkonen 1959: 111–113.

¹¹⁴³ Ehrnsten 2019: 173–175; 231–234.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ehrnsten 2019: 49–68, 246.

basis for exchange. Nevertheless, the peasants did not generally have large sums of cash to be used in trade, and normally the debts they might have incurred were settled with other commodities than money, especially when larger sums were involved.¹¹⁴⁵

Textiles and metal cauldrons are mentioned among the traded wares now and then, as noted above. However, the accounts offer only a glimpse of the various objects the peasant purchased from Tallinn merchants or other sources. Most of the ceramic and glass vessels found in the villages had been imported, and the cloth seals found in the villages originated from packs of fabric manufactured in different areas of Europe. Especially the large quantity of imported tableware found at all sites suggests that all the peasants living in the coastal villages were able to access – and most could also afford – imported goods at least from the late 15th century onwards, when redware vessels started becoming commonly used in Uusimaa. Many of these objects were likely bought from Tallinn, as the town was a place where peasants made other purchases as well. The ceramic assemblages at the sites in Uusimaa resemble much of those in Western Estonia, with most of the wares being imported from Western Europe, but some north-western Russian ceramics are also found among the material.¹¹⁴⁶

11.3.2 Changing tableware, changing table culture

The table was an important place for consuming food and drink, but also for social interaction. The table was a place where the members of the household met their guests and showed their hospitality. The choices of food and drink served at the table, the vessels used for serving, and the manners the people mastered could communicate wealth, knowledge of fashion, social status, and connections.¹¹⁴⁷ Therefore, objects used for eating, drinking, and cooking comprise an interesting group of finds. There are several types of finds connected to table culture and cooking in the find material. Pottery and glass vessels, table knives, and pieces of metal cauldrons are often found during excavations, and they form the most easily comparable group of finds between the sites. Items related to eating, drinking, and cooking have been found at all sites; therefore, it is possible to compare the number of different types of objects between the sites. Although the overall material consists mainly of similar types of ceramics, there is still clear variation between the assemblages at different sites.

One of the early types of ceramics used widely in medieval Uusimaa was low-fired earthenware, which has mainly been found from contexts dating from the 12th to the 14th century. The group consists of different types of vessels that likely had different origins. Some of the vessels resemble those used in Western Finland and Tavastia in the Late Iron Age and the early medieval period.¹¹⁴⁸ This type of vessels has mainly been found in Mäkkylä, where the overall share of low-fired earthenware among the ceramics was exceptionally large, almost half of the total amount of shards. This can likely be explained by the dating of the site and the origin of the settlers. Based on C14 dates, the earliest buildings in Mäkkylä were founded somewhat earlier than at other sites, which may partly explain the large number of ceramics common to the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. It is also likely that the vessels

¹¹⁴⁵ Kerkkonen 1959: 105–110.

¹¹⁴⁶ Compare to Russow 2006.

¹¹⁴⁷ E.g. Brown 2005; Hadley 2005.

¹¹⁴⁸ See, e.g., Luoto 1984a.

typical of Tavastia found in Mäkkylä are a further example of the origin of the settlers, as the place names in the area also originate from the same direction.

Some of the low-fired earthenware resembles vessels used around the Baltic Sea in the Middle Ages.¹¹⁴⁹ These vessels are typically wheel-turned, and they often have highly profiled necks or rims. This type of ceramics has been found at Mäkkylä, Mankby, and Köklax, although the number of vessels was quite small at all these sites. It is possible that some of these vessels were imported from the Baltic area, where similar pottery was used.¹¹⁵⁰ This type of ceramics is more commonly found along the coast of Uusimaa than in the Turku area, so it is possible that represents a further example of the contacts between Northern Estonia and Southern Finland.¹¹⁵¹ However, as similar pottery has been found in western Uusimaa,¹¹⁵² it is also possible that the origins of this type of ceramics are western rather than eastern. It is possible that the vessels were brought to Uusimaa by the Swedish settlers as part of the objects they took along when they headed for their new homelands. Similar ceramics were both manufactured and used in Middle Sweden, where most of the settlers originated.¹¹⁵³ If this is the case, the fact that they are also found at villages founded by Finns would suggest that they are an example of the interaction between the two groups during the colonisation period. The vessels may also originate from different areas, but confirming this would require further research.

The origins of the low-fired earthenware being uncertain, vessels that were clearly imported were quite rare in Uusimaa before the end of the 13th century. There are some exceptions in the material, like a shard that resembles Pingsdorf ware from Mäkkylä and some shards originating from proto-stoneware vessels found in Köklax. Possibly some of the Early Medieval earthenware or redware tripods found in Mäkkylä, as well as the redware pitcher from Köklax, were imported from Western Europe, but they may have been manufactured somewhere closer as well. Despite the number of shards from the 13th century being small, their existence shows that imported ceramics reached Uusimaa around the same time as the central settlement areas in Western Finland. Stoneware and proto-stoneware dating to the second half of the 13th century has been found at sites like the bishop see in Korois and Vanhalinna hillfort in Lieto near Turku. The material from Korois includes some richly decorated pitchers, but the material from Turku is mainly composed of simple pitchers.¹¹⁵⁴ Thus, the simple redware vessels from Uusimaa are not comparable to the elite milieus but resemble the urban material, although their number is much smaller than in Turku.

By the early 14th century, notable quantities of stoneware were traded even on the northern coasts of the Baltic Sea, as is shown by a wreck found in Egelskär, which was carrying a cargo of at least 50 (but more likely over a hundred) vessels.¹¹⁵⁵ Accordingly, the number of imported wares from Western Europe started to grow in Uusimaa during the 14th century, when stoneware produced especially in Siegburg and Lower Saxony became common. Although pottery is not documented among the traded items in the account books kept by

¹¹⁴⁹ See, e.g., Tvauri 2000; Roslund 2007.

¹¹⁵⁰ Tvauri 2000.

¹¹⁵¹ Pihlman 1995: 197–198; Haggrén 2005b: 93–95; Enqvist 2006; Jansson et al. 2010: 76; Laakso 2014: 77–79; Terävä 2016: 152–153.

¹¹⁵² Haggrén et al. 2003; Jansson et al. 2010.

¹¹⁵³ Roslund 2007: 400–468.

¹¹⁵⁴ Luoto 1984a: 107–108; Pihlman 2003: 196–198; 2018: 235–241.

¹¹⁵⁵ Tevali 2010b; Tevali pers. comm. 18.5.2020.

Tallinn merchants, it is likely that most of the vessels found in Uusimaa reached the area via Tallinn. The peasant tradesmen may have purchased vessels from the town and distributed them further along their contact networks in Uusimaa. As pottery was traded around Northern Europe on a small scale by different people like sailors and craftsmen, the peasants may have purchased it from other people than their usual trade contacts in Tallinn.¹¹⁵⁶ This might partly explain why ceramic vessels are not mentioned in the accounts.

Overall, it can be said that similar wares were imported to Uusimaa as to the elite milieus in western Finland during the 13th and 14th centuries, but the amounts were smaller and there was less variation in the types of vessels.¹¹⁵⁷ The most notable difference between Western Finland and Uusimaa seems to be that older redware never became common in the rural settings in Southern Finland. By contrast, stoneware jugs and pitchers were used from the late 13th century onwards, and they became popular during the 14th century. Overall, the amount of stoneware remained quite small in Uusimaa throughout the Middle Ages; at most sites, the number of found medieval or early modern stoneware vessels varies between 3 and 7. The only clear exception of this is Köklax, where shards originating from at least four proto-stoneware vessels, ten medieval stoneware vessels, and an additional three early modern vessels have been found.

Previously, it has been suggested that stoneware might be connected to high social status in medieval Finland.¹¹⁵⁸ However, the frequent use of stoneware in rural Uusimaa clearly shows that even peasant farms had access to imported goods and were able to afford them. It has often been noted that pottery is not the best indicator of wealth, as it was mass-produced and, resulting from this, relatively cheap compared to glass and metal vessels. Therefore, when studying English material, Duncan Brown has underlined how the presence of different types of ceramics should not be simply interpreted as a sign of high social status if the number of vessels remains small.¹¹⁵⁹

Based on the material studied here, other types of vessels were valued more highly than ceramics even in medieval rural Finland. In Mankby, the amount of stoneware connected to the two-roomed cottage in the 14th and 15th centuries is not notably large. Compared to the other sites, the stoneware material from Mankby is quite one-sided, consisting almost solely of ceramics manufactured in Siegburg. This might be explained by the different trading contacts the village had, compared to other peasants. Only one peasant from Mankby is noted to have visited Helmich Ficke in the early 16th century. As the material culture shows that Mankby was clearly involved in trade, they may have had a different contact among the urban merchants already before the 16th century.

Instead of an exceptional assemblage of pottery, there are more medieval glass beakers among the finds from Mankby than from any other sites studied here. Compared to ceramics, fewer glass vessels were used in Europe during the Late Middle Ages, and glass is typically found mainly in towns or elite milieus. In Finland, different types of glass vessels, especially beakers manufactured in Bohemia, have been found in Turku, where they seem to have been quite common in the 14th and 15th centuries. There are also some finds from ecclesiastic sites and castles in Western Finland and Tavastia.¹¹⁶⁰ Based on archaeological

¹¹⁵⁶ Demuth 2015: 350–351

¹¹⁵⁷ See Pihlman 2003: 196–197; Pihlman 2018: 236–241.

¹¹⁵⁸ E.g. Pellinen 2007: 102.

¹¹⁵⁹ Brown 1999.

¹¹⁶⁰ Haggrén & Sedláčková 2007; Haggrén 2012.

finds, glass vessels were also used in Finnish rural villages already in the Middle Ages, and they have been found at several sites along the coast, all the way from Uusimaa in the south to Tornionjoki valley in the north. Bohemian beakers dating to the 14th and 15th centuries are most typical among the finds, but other types of beakers are found, too.¹¹⁶¹

It seems that in the 14th and 15th centuries, the persons living in the two-roomed cottage in Mankby purchased a high number of glass beakers but were less interested about stoneware jugs. They may have valued glass vessels more than pottery and therefore preferred it, possibly as a way to express their high status. The large number of glass vessels from Mankby and even the smaller number of shards from Gubbacka are an interesting example of the varied material culture of medieval Uusimaa. In other areas surrounding the Baltic Sea, Bohemian glass from the 14th and 15th centuries is almost solely found from towns or elite milieus, not rural villages,¹¹⁶² but in Finland, the wealthiest villagers were able and willing to purchase glass vessels already during the Middle Ages.¹¹⁶³

Despite pottery being regarded as less of a luxury than other types of tableware, even the stoneware vessels seem to indicate some level of social status in medieval Uusimaa. Although stoneware was used in all the studied villages, there were differences between the farmsteads, and in the cases where it was used in higher quantities, there seems to be a clear connection to higher social status. For example, in Köklax, the large number of proto-stoneware and stoneware vessels were mainly used at a single farm, and also in Gubbacka, stoneware was found concentrated around a single building likely belonging to a cavalryman. In Mäkkylä, stoneware was more evenly distributed, but the examples from Gubbacka and Köklax show that not everyone wanted to purchase stoneware vessels or had the possibility to do so.

The presence of medieval stoneware vessels and especially the glass beakers in the villages of Southern Finland may be considered as a sign of a somewhat special material culture compared to many other areas in the Swedish realm. Eva Svensson has compared the material from Swedish medieval sites to those located in Central and Western Europe and noted how much more pottery was used at the later sites. Most of the pottery at these sites was locally manufactured, although even imported vessels were used.¹¹⁶⁴ In Sweden, on the other hand, the amount of imported items dropped drastically from the Viking Age to the 14th century in the rural areas.¹¹⁶⁵ In Halland, South-western Sweden, an area quite close to the production sites, medieval stoneware vessels are rarely found at rural sites, and even fewer glass vessels are among the material.¹¹⁶⁶ In central and Northern Sweden, only a small amount of medieval pottery is typically found at rural sites outside central places, especially before redware pipkins started to become common during the Late Middle Ages,¹¹⁶⁷ and sometimes no pottery is found at all.¹¹⁶⁸ The richest examples of rural ceramic material come from Scania, Southern Sweden.¹¹⁶⁹ Compared to the Swedish examples, Uusimaa

¹¹⁶¹ Haggrén 2005c; Haggrén 2010: 127–129; Haggrén & Terävä 2013; Sarajärvi 2013.

¹¹⁶² Haggrén & Sedláčková 2007.

¹¹⁶³ Haggrén & Terävä 2013.

¹¹⁶⁴ Svensson 2008: 336–343.

¹¹⁶⁵ Broberg & Svensson 1987: 484–485.

¹¹⁶⁶ Rosén 2004: 144–145, 252.

¹¹⁶⁷ Elfwendahl & Grundberg 2000; Lagerstedt 2004; Svensson 2008: 188–200.

¹¹⁶⁸ Gustavsson 2002.

¹¹⁶⁹ Elfwendahl 2001.

stands out, as medieval imported goods are found at all the studied sites, although not in same numbers as in Scania.

Magnus Elfwendahl has noted how even in the Swedish town of Uppsala, stoneware was still so rare during the 14th century that the elites of the town used it to show their social status.¹¹⁷⁰ Considering this, the several 13th- and 14th-century proto-stoneware and stoneware vessels found in Köklax are an even rarer assemblage at a rural farm located further away from the production areas. Köklax is not the only site in Southern Finland where a large number of stoneware ceramics dating to the 13th and 14th centuries have been found. The material from Hangö in western Uusimaa contains an even larger number of stoneware shards than found in Köklax.¹¹⁷¹ All in all, the ceramic assemblage in Uusimaa is quite exceptional compared to both European and Scandinavian examples, as pottery was frequently used, and most of it seems to have been imported especially from the 14th century onwards.

Based on the large number of stoneware vessels and glass beakers used in Uusimaa during the 13th and 14th centuries, the villagers were quite willing to invest in imported tableware, and they were likely also well acquainted with the European drinking culture of the time. As medieval people often had easy access to vessels made of organic materials, Volker Demuth has suggested that choosing to use imported pottery for drinking was not done for practical reasons. Instead, stoneware was possibly used to mark a certain table culture influenced by foreign habits, or in some cases to guarantee the quality of the beverage accompanying it.¹¹⁷² This raises the question why the peasants living in coastal Southern Finland in the 14th century felt the need to express these kinds of things.

One possible explanation are the contacts the peasants had to with foreign merchants. Merchants from Tallinn were officially granted rights to trade along the Finnish coast in 1326, and other medieval documents suggest that they also actively did so. At the same time, peasants from Uusimaa sailed to Tallinn to trade.¹¹⁷³ These contacts provided possibilities for acquiring vessels manufactured in different parts of Europe, and the peasants appear to have been willing to do so. The reason for this willingness may have been a desire to express familiarity with the urban table culture the peasants had gotten acquainted with through their contact with the Tallinn merchants. At the same time, however, local low-fired earthenware was still used for cooking, showing that only some objects commonly used in urban areas were incorporated into the rural everyday life.

The amount of ceramics increased at all the studied sites in the late 15th and 16th centuries, although the number of vessels found at different sites varies considerably. For example, the material from Gubbacka is notably smaller and less varied than the material from the other sites. Although the excavations at Gubbacka covered a large area, the amount of ceramics found at the site was only two thirds of that found in Mankby, and less than half compared to Mäkkylä, despite the sites having been abandoned roughly at the same time. The composition of the ceramic assemblage from Gubbacka also differed from the other sites. Close to 90% of the material consisted of redware, while at Mankby less than 80% and in Mäkkylä only around 50% of the total amount of pottery was redware.

¹¹⁷⁰ Elfwendahl 1999: 148–149.

¹¹⁷¹ Jansson et al. 2010: 76.

¹¹⁷² Demuth 2015: 351.

¹¹⁷³ Kerkkonen 1959: 14–15, 20–21.

The main reason for this difference seems to be that ceramics became widely used in Gubbäcka only during the late 15th century, when redware tripods started to become common in Finland. These were the first vessels which spread widely around the studied villages: if stoneware had been concentrated into the hands of only a few persons in every village, redware pipkins seem to have been owned by all farms. Most of the 16th-century redware used in Uusimaa was likely still imported from Western Europe or Scandinavia via Tallinn or Finnish towns, although the possibility of local manufacturing has also been discussed.¹¹⁷⁴ As the material from the villages is quite varied and contains vessels similar to those manufactured in both southern Scandinavia or Germany and the Netherlands, it is unlikely that all of the vessels originated from the same manufacturing centres.¹¹⁷⁵

Tableware used in the villages during the late medieval and early modern periods followed the European fashion and became more varied than previously. Specialised table knives became common in Europe, including Finland, during the Late Middle Ages in the 15th and 16th centuries. In contrast to regular knives, which were used as multi-purpose tools, the delicate and often decorated table knives were only meant for eating. It has been suggested that the introduction of table knives in the villages is connected to new table manners, which the peasants adopted from the upper classes in the Late Middle Ages.¹¹⁷⁶ Table knives were more frequently used in some villages, like Mankby. It is possible that table knives are a further example of the peasants adopting some of the customs they became familiar with through their contacts in Tallinn.

Peasant tradesmen also often imported metal cauldrons or kettles from Tallinn to Uusimaa. Fragments of copper or iron cauldrons have been found at excavations, and in the merchants' account books there are plenty of mentions of peasants purchasing cauldrons from Tallinn. Gunvor Kerkkonen has compared the prices of cauldrons sold in Tallinn and noted that in the 1510s and 1520s, the prices varied between 0.5 and 4 marks, depending on the weight. This was a notable price for a peasant to pay, but still the number of cauldrons the peasant tradesmen bought from Tallinn indicate that most of the farms owned one anyway.¹¹⁷⁷ Although it has been suggested that copper cauldrons were the most expensive item a medieval peasant would normally own,¹¹⁷⁸ some peasants like Anders Larsson from Lill Hoplax, close to Mäkkylä, owned several of them. In 1577, Anders had altogether four kettles, two brewing pans, and four cauldrons made of copper. Anders was clearly wealthy, as his belongings also included 14 bowls or plates, eight jugs, and six salt dishes, all made of pewter.¹¹⁷⁹

Based on written sources like the one mentioning Anders' tableware, from the 16th and 17th centuries onwards peasants also owned pewter and silver vessels,¹¹⁸⁰ but it is not clear whether this was the case already in the Middle Ages. Fragments of pewter or silver vessels are seldom found on archaeological excavations or mentioned in the medieval written sources treating rural areas. Visa Immonen, who has studied artefacts of precious metals in medieval and early modern Finland, has noted how the medieval and 16th-century

¹¹⁷⁴ Holmqvist et al. 2014.

¹¹⁷⁵ Holmqvist et al. 2020.

¹¹⁷⁶ Immonen 2009a: 238–239; Haggrén et al. 2011b.

¹¹⁷⁷ Kerkkonen 1959: 133.

¹¹⁷⁸ Egan 2005: 200–201.

¹¹⁷⁹ KA 161: 5v.

¹¹⁸⁰ Talve 1997.

sources only mention vessels made of precious metals in connection to nobility or clergy. However, metal vessels have also been found as loose finds in rural environments, although these mainly date from the late 16th or early 17th century.¹¹⁸¹ The court case¹¹⁸² where Claes Mårtensson from Lillas received a silver tankard as payment for a debt owed to him suggests that some pewter or silver vessels were used at the farm.

In the late 16th century, redware and whiteware bowls, new types of decorated stoneware jugs and bottles, and *passglas* beakers appeared in the villages and soon become popular. Passglas-type glasses used for drinking beer became widely spread throughout Europe during the second half of the 16th century, including both towns and rural areas in Finland as well.¹¹⁸³ In Helsinki, shards belonging to almost a hundred passglas vessels have been found in just one building, which reveals their popularity at the turn of the 17th century.¹¹⁸⁴ During the late 16th century, passglas beakers and imported ceramics were purchased even in Mäkkylä, where, based on the written records, none of the peasants were wealthy. By this point, imported tableware was clearly used even at the less well-off farms in Uusimaa.

The period dating to c. 1400–1600 has been called the *Age of Transition* in European research because of the political and religious changes, but it also refers to the changing material culture at the turn of the early modern period. The number of objects like ceramic vessels used by households increased throughout Europe, and the use of domestic space changed as more rooms with varied functions were included in the domestic architecture.¹¹⁸⁵ Some researchers have also applied the idea of the early modern period being an age of transition in Finland, although they have remarked that here, especially in the north, the period lasted longer than in Western Europe.¹¹⁸⁶ Even researchers from Western Europe have noted that the transition was a long process, in many cases starting already during the Middle Ages and continuing until the 17th century.¹¹⁸⁷ According to Georg Haggrén, this transition to a more varied material culture is also visible in the archaeological material from southern Finland during the 16th and early 17th centuries,¹¹⁸⁸ and the material from the villages studied here further supports this view.

11.3.3 Clothing and personal objects – dressing up and communicating social status and alliances

Personal objects and clothing were an important medium for communication in the medieval and early modern periods. In the Middle Ages, a person's appearance could tell a great deal about the different aspects of their social status, so clothing and accessories were important for social representation. The outer appearance of a person enabled others to recognise his or her place in the society.¹¹⁸⁹ Therefore, the personal objects and finds related to

¹¹⁸¹ Immonen 2009a: 212–220, 317–318; 2009b.

¹¹⁸² Raasepori I KO a 4: 77.

¹¹⁸³ Haggrén 2005c; Haggrén 2010: 127–129; Haggrén & Terävä 2013; Sarajärvi 2013.

¹¹⁸⁴ Haggrén 1994: 288–289.

¹¹⁸⁵ Gaimster & Stamper 1997.

¹¹⁸⁶ Haggrén 2009b; Immonen 2011; Nurmi 2011.

¹¹⁸⁷ Gaimster & Stamper 1997.

¹¹⁸⁸ Haggrén 2009b.

¹¹⁸⁹ Jaritz 2000; Immonen 2009a: 242–244.

clothing found at excavations are not simply pretty things, but they can also tell about the social status and identities of the persons who used them. Personal objects were typically used by a single individual, so they offer an interesting possibility to discuss the personal identity of their users.¹¹⁹⁰

Small items used as dress accessories and pieces of jewellery have been found at all the villages studied here. These tell about the personal appearance of the villagers, but they could be used for communicating and negotiating status, or as symbols for resistance or alliances. For example, as discussed above, the pendants found in Mäkkylä and Köklax, a type used in Finnish areas during the Late Iron Age, may have been used to express an ethnic or language identity in a situation where people from different directions were arriving in Uusimaa and establishing the first villages.¹¹⁹¹

The number of personal items found at the five villages notably varies. Many of these are fragments of copper alloy fittings that are difficult to date and identify, but there are also well-preserved decorated objects among the finds. Only a small number of items was found in Köklax, and the number of items from Gubbacka is also meagre. At the other sites they were found more frequently, and the number of different types of decorated objects is especially large in Mankby. Although this could partly be explained by the high degree of identified finds among the material, it is still clear that the material is rich and varied. Some of the objects are quite exceptional in a Finnish rural context. Among the rarer objects the annular brooch with the text 'ANVRE' and the strap end decorated with an enamelled *lion rampant* motif are worth a separate mention.

In medieval England, people could express their fealty to elites by wearing their emblems.¹¹⁹² Anna-Maria Salonen and Georg Haggrén have suggested that the strap end with a *lion rampant* motif from Mankby may have been used in a similar manner, as the motif resembles the coat of arms of the Folkunga family.¹¹⁹³ It is true that the context of the find, the two-roomed cottage dating to the 14th century, is exceptional in medieval rural Finland, so the inhabitant likely had a high social position, and he might even have been a member of the lower nobility. However, Eva Svensson has noted how some peasants in late 13th-century Sweden used different items, such as mounts, brooches, and buckles – sometimes decorated with heraldic-looking motives – for social competition during a time when wealthy peasants could become noblemen.¹¹⁹⁴ Therefore, it is possible that the strap end from Mankby was not used by a nobleman, but rather by a peasant trying to improve his social standing through the use of certain objects, like the strap end resembling heraldic emblems, as well as by acquiring a number of imported items like glass beakers.

In her work, Sally V. Smith has discussed the use of dress accessories as items used to express resistance to the elites. According to her, decorative dress accessories may have been used by the peasants to re-fashion their identities in a situation where the elites tried to impose their own ideas about who the peasants were as a group and what they were supposed to wear.¹¹⁹⁵ It is possible that some of the dress accessories found at the villages in Uusimaa were used in a similar manner, to express a local identity opposed to the elites. According

¹¹⁹⁰ See White & Beaudry 2009.

¹¹⁹¹ Wessman 2016: 25–27.

¹¹⁹² Davis 1985.

¹¹⁹³ Salonen & Haggrén 2016: 109–110.

¹¹⁹⁴ Svensson 2008: 204–208.

¹¹⁹⁵ Smith 2009.

to Erik Anthoni, the medieval nobility in Uusimaa originated mainly from Sweden and Germany.¹¹⁹⁶ Therefore, in the eyes of the local inhabitants, they were likely perceived as outsiders.

Besides the accessories, different types of textiles may also have been used to communicate social status or identity. Even though only a small number of finds from the villages are linked to textile manufacturing, most of the textiles used in the villages were likely locally manufactured in the medieval and early modern periods. However, some amount of imported cloth was also used by the peasants. Both Erik Basse from Köklax and Göran Bonde from Lillas bought cloth from Tallinn during the first half of the 16th century. Their purchases show that the wealthy farms not only bought the most common types of Dutch cloth, but also the more expensive English cloth. The use of more exclusive cloth was likely one way to express wealth and social status for the wealthy merchant and the future *länsman*.

In other sources than the merchants' accounts in Tallinn, there is little evidence of trade in imported cloth among peasants from Uusimaa, but there are indications that textiles were purchased by them even later on. Lead seals originating from packs of cloth have been found from Mäkkylä and Gubbäcka, and possibly also from Mankby. The ones from Gubbäcka and Mankby have not been identified, but those found from Mäkkylä date likely to the early 17th century and originate from Germany.

11.3.4 Good Catholics and Lutherans?

Objects and structures related to religion are not among the most common finds at medieval settlement areas in Finland, but the ones that have been found at the studied sites give an interesting picture of the religious practices in medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland. One of the most interesting features of religious life are the medieval village cemeteries excavated in Köklax and Mankby, showing that they were used in both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking villages. In both cases, the number of identified graves was low, just three in Mankby and between five and ten in Köklax. However, a more extensive village cemetery has been excavated in Finno eight kilometres south-east of the two sites, where the cemetery contained over 40 burials.¹¹⁹⁷ Based on the lack of grave goods and the orientation of the burials, these cemeteries were clearly Christian, and at least in Köklax and Mankby they date to the earliest settlement phases of the villages. This suggests that although the parish organisation in the area did not develop before the 13th century,¹¹⁹⁸ the inhabitants of Uusimaa were already Christian when the first villages were founded.

Village cemeteries may be a sign of early villagers adapting to the local conditions. A chapel was likely founded in Espoo as late as the mid-14th century or so; prior to this, the area belonged to the parish of Kirkkonummi.¹¹⁹⁹ The village cemeteries were likely a practical solution during this time, when the parish church was located quite far away. In Köklax and Mankby, the excavated burials date to the 13th or 14th century, so both cemeteries appear to have been left out of use by the time a chapel was founded close to both villages. In Finno, located further away from the chapel and later the parish church, the village cem-

¹¹⁹⁶ Anthoni 1970: 123–124.

¹¹⁹⁷ Haggrén 2008: 45–46.

¹¹⁹⁸ Hiekkänen 2007: 18.

¹¹⁹⁹ Hiekkänen 2007: 428.

etery stayed in used longer, at least until the 15th but possibly even the 16th century.¹²⁰⁰ It seems that the villages closer to the church or chapel started to bury their dead in the parish cemetery earlier than those located further away.

There are examples of medieval village cemeteries even in Western Finland, where the use of old non-Christian cemeteries sometimes continued until the medieval period, when the older furnished burials were replaced with Christian unfurnished graves.¹²⁰¹ Furthermore, new radiocarbon dates from Tuukkala cemetery in Eastern Finland have shown that here the old village cemetery was used until the late 14th or even early 15th century, and the practice of burying the deceased in traditional dresses with dress ornaments continued at least until the end of the 14th century.¹²⁰² It is possible that there were small chapels or even churches at some of the village cemeteries, as is the case with the small 13th-century church and cemetery at Ristimäki in Ravattula, Finland Proper.¹²⁰³ In Karelia, some of the people were buried in village cemeteries instead of churchyards as late as the 17th century, partly due to practical reasons, as churches were few, and partly following the local old traditions.¹²⁰⁴

Therefore, village cemeteries are a typical phenomenon in Finland during the medieval and in some areas even the early modern period – during a time when the people were Christian but churches and chapels were still few and often far away. Even though the village cemeteries were typically not located next to churches and thus their location deviated from the instructions given by the Church, the burials were clearly Christian.¹²⁰⁵ Even in eastern Middle Sweden, where most of the colonists moving to Uusimaa came from, there are examples of Christian burials being done in old cemeteries until the twelfth century and the introduction of the parish organisation.¹²⁰⁶ Village cemeteries were a familiar way to bury the dead for both Finns and Swedes originating from different areas, and therefore their use in Uusimaa, especially before the parish organisation was widely established, is not surprising.

Besides village cemeteries, there are other examples of how different beliefs were important for the villagers during both Catholic and Lutheran times. A good example of this is provided by the building concealments which seem to have been done in several of the studied villages to protect the buildings from harm and to bring good luck.¹²⁰⁷ Vesa-Pekka Herva has suggested that the inhabitants could also use building concealments as a way to engage with the buildings and to keep up social relations with them. This was important, as a good relationship between the inhabitants and the building would result in the well-being of the household on both physical and social levels.¹²⁰⁸ Thus, building concealments are an example of the entangled relationships people had with the material world.

Building concealments are often difficult to identify during excavations. Most of the objects interpreted as originating from building concealments in the studied villages are Stone Age tools that stand out from the overall material, although one example from Lillas

¹²⁰⁰ Haggrén 2008: 46.

¹²⁰¹ Laakso 2017; Salonen 2017.

¹²⁰² Mikkola 2019.

¹²⁰³ Ruohonen 2017.

¹²⁰⁴ Ruohonen 2018.

¹²⁰⁵ Salonen 2017.

¹²⁰⁶ Andersson 1997: 369.

¹²⁰⁷ Hukantaival 2016.

¹²⁰⁸ Herva 2010: 448–449.

was found in a context that was clearly a deliberate concealment. Other items were also used, and the broken *bartmann* bottle found in the foundations of the stone cellar in Lillas is a good example of this variety. Compared to many other items, ceramic vessels were rarely used in building concealments in Finland, but there is one example of a deliberately broken cooking pot placed under the corner of a house in Tornio, Northern Finland.¹²⁰⁹ Some shards of stoneware vessels found in other parts of Finland may also originate from building concealments.¹²¹⁰ In 17th- and 18th-century England, *bartmann* bottles were used as so-called 'witch bottles', concealed in buildings to keep witches away.¹²¹¹ Despite a similar bottle being used, the bottle from Mårtensby likely followed the same tradition as the broken cooking pot in Tornio rather than the witch bottle tradition. The building concealments found in Uusimaa are an additional example of how folk beliefs survived in medieval and early modern Finland, despite Christianity being the official religion.¹²¹²

It seems that the inhabitants of Lillas may have had a special interest in religious matters. Besides the building concealments, two late 17th-century Orthodox icons were found during the excavations, and the material also includes a large number of beads that may originate from a rosary. Small bronze icons were commonly used by Orthodox Christians for practising personal devotion, and the same was true for rosaries and Catholic Christians. Both were found in 17th-century contexts, so they were still used after the Reformation had defined Lutheranism as the official form of Christianity. It is possible that these objects are an example of the importance of personal devotion for the inhabitants. In addition, these objects show that they did not draw a strict line between objects connected to different forms of Christianity.

Overall, the religious objects found from Lillas, the building concealments, and the village cemeteries reveal that even though the people were Christians living in organised church parishes, the everyday religion did not always follow the rules set by the Church. In the future, archaeological material will hopefully offer further possibilities to study the everyday religious practices in rural areas.

11.4 VILLAGES AS A SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Studying the social life of villages focuses on the importance of the people living in them. With the help of written sources, it is possible to reach some of the inhabitants of the villages, although in this case this is only true for the 16th and 17th centuries. Although village life was closely connected to agriculture and peasants were the group responsible for that, other people lived in the villages as well. Even the peasants were not simply farmers but had a variety of social roles and different livelihoods. All these different groups and their roles were important for everyday life in the villages.

¹²⁰⁹ Herva & Ylimaunu 2009: 236.

¹²¹⁰ Hukantaival 2016.

¹²¹¹ Hoggard 2019.

¹²¹² Herva & Ylimaunu 2009; Herva 2010; Hukantaival 2016.

11.4.1 Peasants and other people – inhabitants of the villages

When the studied villages first appear in the tax registers in the 1540s, the listed villagers are the peasants responsible for the farms. It is safe to say that most of these peasants shared some common characteristics: they lived on the farms, they were engaged in agriculture, and, because of this, they paid taxes to the Crown. At the same time, there were also many differences between these people, just as there had been before and would be in the future. The wealth of the peasants living in the studied villages widely varied. This is quite visible when the amount of silver taxes they paid in 1571 is compared (Table 11.1). The value of the property of the richest peasant, Lasse Jönsson from Lillas, was valued at 262 ½ marks, while Oluf Mårtensson from the same village, Morten Jönsson from Mäkkylä, and Anders Nilsson from Västersundom owned property worth less than 30 marks. Cadastral registers show that the sizes of the farms varied as well (between ¼ and 1 1/3 tax marks), and many of the smaller farms were struggling to pay taxes by the end of the 16th century.

Still, it is often difficult to assess a peasant's wealth based on the early modern source material. A good example of this is Anders Nilsson from Västersundom. In 1600, Anders

Village	Peasant	Property in marks (mk) and öre
Mårtensby	Lasse Jönsson	262 1/2 mk
Mankby	Finsius Jacobsson	158 mk 6 öre
Mårtensby	Matts Person	106 1/2 mk
Västersundom	Nilis Jönsson	99 mk 3 öre
Västersundom	Jöns Matsson	69 mk 5,5 öre
Köklax	Matz Jacobsson	68 mk 1 öre
Mäkkylä	Oluff Michelson	68 mk 1 öre
Köklax	Henrich Jonsson	66 mk 7 öre
Mäkkylä	Hans Hendrichson	55 mk 6 öre
Köklax	Anders Jonsson	54 mk 5,5 öre
Västersundom	Morthen Andersson	51 mk 7 öre
Köklax	Thåmas Ersson	50 mk 5 öre
Västersundom	Jacop Hendrichsson	50 mk
Västersundom	Lasse Persson	50 mk
Skogby (Köklax)	Pouell Marchusson	46 mk 7 öre
Köklax	Mårthen Erichsson	43 mk 6 öre
Köklax	Henrich Mårthensson	39 mk 3 öre
Köklax	Staffan Poualsson	37 mk 1,5 öre
Mårtensby	Hendrich Anderson	34 1/2 mk
Mäkkylä	Anders Persson	32 1/2 mk
Mäkkylä	Siffred Persson	31 mk 2 öre
Mårtensby	Jacob Matsson	31 mk 6 öre
Mårtensby	Oluff Morthensson	27 mk
Mäkkylä	Morthen Iönsson	25 mk
Västersundom	Anders Nilsson	20 mk
Köklax	Jacob Staffansson	

Table 11.1 The value of property of the peasants from the studied villages in 1571.

¹²¹³ KA 3324: 67v, KA 3486: 258v.

¹²¹⁴ KA 161: 16r.

held the trusted position of a *ffärdingsman* (Fi. *neljänne-smies*), a person helping the bailiff. According to a list of auxiliary taxes from the same year, he was the second wealthiest farmer in the village, owning 23 cows and 19 sheep. This was a noteworthy quantity of livestock. However, just thirty years earlier, he was the poorest farmer in the village and his loose property in 1571 consisted of just two cows.¹²¹³ Yet, when the Russians raided the village in 1577, two silver rings, four kettles, and a large number of clothes, some of which were specifically noted as new, were counted among his losses.¹²¹⁴ These items can by no means be seen as signs of poverty, but instead they speak to rather good living standards. Apparently, Anders was able

to build up his wealth, which was based on a large farm he took up after Nils Ervastsson in the late 1560s. This is a good example of how wealth and the different ways in which it was manifested or invested were not static but could vary even during the lifetime of a single farmer, let alone over the life history of a farm.

When the material culture of different farms is compared, some farms stand out for using more imported ceramics or glass vessels. As noted above, it is not always easy to say which objects were actually expensive or associated with higher status in the past. Still, there are some cases where the material culture suggests notable wealth or good connections. For example, the number of proto-stoneware vessels used by the oldest farm excavated in Köklax shows that it was likely owned by a wealthy peasant, possibly engaged in trade, which would explain the large amount of imported ceramics.

Some of the peasants held different positions of trust. The most common of these was that of a juror in the local court. Besides that, trusted peasants acted as surveyors when there were disputes over land, witnessed inventories, and helped with collecting taxes. Local officials like the *länsman*, a person responsible for organising the local court sessions, were also chosen from among the peasants.¹²¹⁵ All of these positions were held by some of the peasants from the studied villages. These positions show that the peasants were trusted by their peers and seen as capable of taking care of such joint matters.¹²¹⁶ Some peasants were even trusted by members of other estates, and they acted as representatives of nobility or clergymen. Vincentius Jacobsson from Mankby and Morten Persson from Köklax were trusted with witnessing inventories at the royal demesne of Espoo, and Erik Basse from Köklax was even the *länsman* in Espoo in the early 16th century. The trust reflected by these tasks did not necessarily correlate to the wealth of the peasants responsible for them, even though many peasants who held these positions were among the wealthier parishioners.¹²¹⁷ For example, Sigfred Persson and his son Erik from Mäkkylä both acted as jurors in the late 16th century, although their farm was the smallest one in the village.

All the peasants in the five villages were freemen around the mid-16th century, but the situation changed quite soon after this. Many of the farms fell into the hands of the Crown, townspeople, or noblemen at some point during the late 16th and early 17th centuries and were occupied by tenants after this. In some cases, this meant the end of the village. When the lands belonging to Mankby were incorporated into the royal demesne, the villagers had to leave their old homes and permanently move elsewhere. Still, their fate does not seem to have been too bad, as most of the peasants got new farms from the neighbouring villages.¹²¹⁸ The inhabitants of Mäkkylä were less lucky in the beginning of the 17th century, when the former mayor of Helsinki, Hans Olsson, bought their impoverished farms and founded a manor in the area. The villagers disappeared from the written sources after this, and their fate remains unknown.

The farms were not always occupied by a household consisting simply of a nuclear family, and the farms did not necessarily pass from father to son, even in cases when there was an heir available. There are some occasions where the reasons for different solutions in arranging the ownership of a farm are given in written sources, like in the case of the Skogbisa farm in Köklax. In 1607, Marie, the widow of the former farmer there, shared the farm between

¹²¹⁵ Salminen 2013: 56–57.

¹²¹⁶ Jutikkala 1958: 124; Suvanto 1987: 330–339; Katajala 1994: 230; 2006: 794–796.

¹²¹⁷ Suvanto 1987: 330–339.

¹²¹⁸ Haggrén & Rosendahl 2008.

her son and her son-in-law, as the son-in-law, Hans Jacobsson, had been helping her with it. Now that she herself was getting old, Marie wanted to leave half of the farm to Hans, who was also supposed to take care of her in her old age.¹²¹⁹ This shows how family relationships could determine the way in which the farms passed from generation to generation.

Sometimes when several adults lived on the same farm, the different activities could be shared between the household members in different ways. For example, in the 1560s and 1570s, both Lasse Jönsson and Mats Bengtsson were noted in turns as the peasant paying taxes for Lillas. Based on some receipts, Mats was responsible for sailing, while Lasse was the one who mainly took care of the farm. This kind of arrangement was not unusual among the peasant tradesmen of Uusimaa, and Tapio Salminen has shown that, for example, in Otnäs, in the westernmost part of the parish of Helsing, different family members were responsible for sailing and farming at different times.¹²²⁰ The farm from Otnäs cooperated with Lillas in sailing in the 1570s, showing that the two farms shared their business ventures as well as their ideas of arranging their households. Even before this, during Göran Bonde's time, there were likely more inhabitants on the farm than just Göran and his nuclear family. Ficke's accounts show how many of Göran's family members, including his brothers and sons, were involved in his trading activities. Ficke noted the home villages of some of them in his accounts, but for many he did not do so.¹²²¹ Some of these family members may have lived in Lillas. For example, in 1556, besides the peasant Bengt Jörensso, two of his brothers lived on the farm as well.¹²²²

Peasant tradesmen were a group of people that clearly stood out from other peasants in the villages. Many of them, like Göran Bonde, were wealthy and well connected. The ships used in overseas trade were a significant investment, and the value of the traded goods was sometimes great. Peasants were important for the local economy in Uusimaa, as they acted as middlemen between the villages and Tallinn merchants, enabling peasants from different parts of the region to sell their products and acquire different commodities as payment. The peasant tradesmen also guaranteed debts and acted as witnesses in different matters. Thus, they had an important role in building and maintaining networks both within their home parishes and further away and managing the relationship between rural villages and towns.¹²²³ Rural areas formed an important hinterland for urban centres, as they provided different goods and new inhabitants for the towns. However, the exchange between towns and the surrounding countryside was often based on complex networks, and influences moved in both directions.¹²²⁴ As there were no towns in central Uusimaa prior to the mid-16th century, the contacts with the prospering Hanseatic town of Tallinn across the Gulf of Finland became important for the villagers. Peasant tradesmen played an important role in providing the town with foodstuffs and building material, and people often moved to Tallinn to work as craftsmen or tradesmen, as manual labourers like fishermen or boatmen, or as maids or servants in the urban households.¹²²⁵

¹²¹⁹ RA Raseborgs län 1606–1608, Parish of Espoo 22.7.1607.

¹²²⁰ Salminen 2013: 336.

¹²²¹ Kerkkonen 1963: 121.

¹²²² KA 3044: 45r.

¹²²³ Kerkkonen 1959: 100–125; Salminen 2013: 18–23; DF 5556.

¹²²⁴ Kallioinen 1995: 85–86, 93–95; Galloway 2005; 2015; Müller 2015.

¹²²⁵ Kerkkonen 1959: 73–74; Salminen 2012: 222–229; 2013: 358–370.

Besides having a central role for the economy in medieval and early modern Uusimaa, peasant tradesmen played a part in spreading new types of objects and cultural influences in the region. For example, the popularity of Western European drinking vessels, and familiarity with the drinking culture they were a part of, was presumably due to the contacts that peasant tradesmen had with Tallinn merchants. However, the influences did not flow in just one direction. Tallinn was a multicultural environment with Estonian, German, Russian, and Scandinavian inhabitants, who spoke different languages and often used different kinds of objects.¹²²⁶ The immigrants from Uusimaa contributed to this mix of languages, customs, and objects, and also to the contact networks between their home villages and the townspeople. For example, Helmich Ficke not only did business with the peasants from Uusimaa but also had a maid originating from the area.¹²²⁷

The Swedish administration and burghers in the Finnish towns were strongly opposed to peasant trade, as it meant that goods and money were lost outside the local towns. The Crown tried to restrict it through legislation and decrees throughout the Late Middle Ages, and even more so during the reign of Gustav I.¹²²⁸ However, the administration lacked effective means to control the trade from Uusimaa to Tallinn. As members of the local elites, like persons involved in administration and vicars, also actively participated in the trade, they may not have been too keen on taking strict measures against it.¹²²⁹ Peasants were sometimes heavily fined for their trading activities, like happened to Erik Basse in 1546,¹²³⁰ but the fines were apparently not enough to stop the trade between Uusimaa and Tallinn. Still, trade caused tensions between the peasants and the administration.

The peasant tradesmen are a good example of the different roles the peasants could have during the Middle Ages. The finds from Mankby and Gubbacka show that some of the peasants could also be closely connected to the elites, with some of them possibly even being members of the medieval *frälse* nobility themselves. It has been suggested that the two-roomed cottage with the rich find material in Mankby belonged to a nobleman. The building type itself was commonly associated with the nobility during the Middle Ages, and the strap end with a coat-of-arms motif resembles objects used by noblemen. In addition, the seal that Vincentus Jacobsson from Mankby was using in the 16th century resembled those of the nobility rather than those used by merchants or other commoners. Thus, Vincentus' family may have belonged to the nobility at some point.¹²³¹ The finds connected to a cavalryman together with shards of glass beakers and stoneware vessels from *building 3* in Gubbacka suggest that here also the inhabitant was a wealthy person possibly connected to the nobility.

It was not uncommon for members of the lower nobility to live in rural villages in medieval Finland. The cadastral records from the 1540s still bear evidence of this in the form of *flöte* tax, a tax paid by impoverished lower nobility. Especially in Western Finland, there were peasants paying this tax in the mid-16th century, showing that they had previously been members of the *frälse* but lost their position due to poverty.¹²³² In contrast to Western

¹²²⁶ Naum 2014.

¹²²⁷ Salminen 2013: 365–366.

¹²²⁸ Kerkkonen 1959: 15–30.

¹²²⁹ Kerkkonen 1959: 122–125; Salminen 2013: 332–346.

¹²³⁰ KA 2952: 60r.

¹²³¹ Salonen & Haggrén 2016.

¹²³² Anthoni 1970: 262–264; Orrman 1984: 76.

Europe, where the nobility could own large landed estates with peasants as their tenants,¹²³³ many of the noblemen in medieval Finland owned just their own farm and possibly had a few tenants.¹²³⁴ The soldier in Gubbacka and the person living in the two-roomed cottage in Mankby may have been members of this lower *frälse*.

It may not be a coincidence that both buildings date to the second half of the 14th century. This was a period during which the Swedish administration was reinforced in Southern Finland. At the same time, the role of the nobility strengthened in Uusimaa.¹²³⁵ The early years of the reign of Albert of Mecklenburg in the 1360s were a restless time, and during the late 14th century new castles were also founded in Uusimaa.¹²³⁶ It is possible that the presence of nobility in the villages of central Uusimaa is connected to the growing role of nobility in the area.¹²³⁷ It was not uncommon for farms to fall into the hands of the nobility during the Middle Ages, and by the second half of the 14th century this was starting to become a problem for the Crown, as it meant reductions in tax income.¹²³⁸

Due to the fluid nature of medieval *frälse* it is difficult to tell if the two-roomed cottage in Mankby belonged to a nobleman or a prosperous peasant aiming to enhance his social status. Eva Svensson has noted how some peasants in Sweden used different items, such as mounts, brooches, and buckles – sometimes decorated with heraldic-looking motives – for social competition at a time when wealthy peasants could become noblemen through the Alsnö accords given in 1280.¹²³⁹ During the period when *frälse* rights were given to a person who equipped a cavalryman, at least in theory the rights would be lost if the person ceased to do so; thus, even the wealthy peasants could gain these rights but also lose them easily. All the noblemen were not equal, as there were notable differences in their status and wealth.¹²⁴⁰ Therefore, it is difficult to draw a firm line between a wealthy peasant and a member of the lower nobility based solely on archaeological material.

While the two-roomed cottage was the home for a very wealthy household with good connections, even if the person living in the two-roomed cottage or the soldier in Gubbacka held *frälse* rights at some point, after the 15th century there are no similar signs of exceptionally wealthy persons living in the villages. In Mankby, the family who had previously been connected to the nobility may have become normal peasants by the early modern period, and the seal used by Vincentius Jacobsson in the 16th century may be but a keepsake of his family's noble past.

The elite members living in the villages likely had a substantial effect on the social life in them. As discussed before, the building of the two-roomed cottage greatly changed the village landscape in Mankby. The inhabitants of the two-roomed cottage differentiated themselves from the peasants in a number of ways, ranging from the house they lived in to the tableware they possessed and the way they dressed. Apparently, they were communicating and reinforcing their identity and possible alliances through material culture, living in a building typical of nobility, using similar tableware as them and dressing in a

¹²³³ See, e.g., Saunders 1990.

¹²³⁴ Salminen 2013: 278–279.

¹²³⁵ Anthoni 1970: 84.

¹²³⁶ Suhonen 2002a; 2002b; Haggrén 2015: 429–432.

¹²³⁷ Heinonen 2020.

¹²³⁸ Voinmaa 1912: 30–32

¹²³⁹ Svensson 2008: 204–208.

¹²⁴⁰ Småberg 2004: 53–65.

way that showed that they were well connected. All this may have brought tensions into village life.

Noblemen or soldiers were not the only social group in the villages whose role may have differed from common peasants. As noted above, there were also craftsmen and likely also craftswomen living in the villages. Most of them were also engaged in agriculture, but still, they were often better known by the crafts they practised.¹²⁴¹ The byname of Thomas Wäffvare, suggesting a weaver, indicates that he was so well known for his craft that it became a way to distinguish himself from other Thomases in the village. The farm name Smeds in Mårtensby is a good example of how the craft the inhabitants practised could also become the name of their farm.

All the craftsmen living in the villages were not necessarily peasants, although most also owned land. Owning land secured them an independent position in the face of the law, and after Gustav I's decision to centralise craftsmanship in towns, it also helped them to avoid being forced to move into towns. Some of the peasant craftsmen, especially smiths, were among the wealthiest peasants, and they held a number of trusted positions.¹²⁴² A good example of an especially wealthy and well-connected peasant smith comes from Nurmijärvi in the northern part of the parish of Helsingfors, where Kristoffer *Smed*, a smith and wealthy peasant tradesman who often did business with Göran Bonde, lived in the early 16th century.¹²⁴³

The role of noblemen in the villages increased during the 16th and 17th centuries. From the second half of the 16th century onwards, several farms fell into the hands of noblemen, some for a short period of time, but others more permanently. For example, around 1566 Sigfred Kruse bought three farms in Västersundom, and in 1569, these were joined to his *enfeoffment*. Tenants took over the farms for over a decade, but after Kruse's death they were returned to the cadastral records in 1581. In the beginning of the 17th century, five farms in Västersundom were *enfeoffed* again, this time to Daniel Golowitz, whose *enfeoffment* also included farms in Mårtensby. After Golowitz' death, the farms were returned to cadastral records in 1614, but some of the farms in Västersundom fell into the hands of other noblemen again soon after this. In the 1620s, the farms in Västersundom were *enfeoffed* to Reinhold Wunsch, who founded a manor in the village in 1630. The role of the nobility grew during the early modern period in the other studied villages as well.

During the early 17th century, some of the farms started equipping cavalrymen. The best example of this is Lillas in Mårtensby, where the aim was likely to enhance the social standing of the farm. However, after 1613, there were cavalrymen at farms in Västersundom as well, although they seem to have mostly come from outside the village and lived as tenants on farms owned by wealthy landowners. One of these cavalrymen was Herr Bertil, his title showing that he was a clergyman, likely a regimental preacher. Herr Bertil is an example of how members of clergy could also live in the villages. The cavalrymen moving in from elsewhere likely had a different social position than the other villagers, especially in the case of a clergyman.

¹²⁴¹ Suvanto 1987: 158–168.

¹²⁴² Suvanto 1987: 158–168.

¹²⁴³ Kerkkonen 1963: 121; Salminen 2013: 351.

11.4.2 The (almost) invisible villagers

When the previous chapters are looked at, it is easy to see those who are present in the text: the peasants who owned farms in the villages and sometimes sailed to Tallinn to trade, perhaps an odd nobleman here and there, and the contacts the villagers had in towns or manors. However, there were also other members of the rural community: women, children, servants, temporary workers, the elderly, and the poor, for example. Compared to the peasants who were responsible for paying taxes, these people are rarely mentioned in the medieval and early modern written sources.

This is also evident when the material concerning the studied villages is considered. Women are mentioned in the sources only rarely before the 1630s, when they start to appear more regularly in the population rolls. Many of the cases referring to women before this are those where a woman has been left to take care of a farm after her husband has died, and therefore is responsible for things that were usually done by men, like paying taxes. However, women could take an active role when the situation permitted or demanded it. A good example of this is the letter that Anna Olufsdotter from Lillas, the wife of the cavalryman Simon Mårtensson, wrote together with two other women after their husbands had been killed during a campaign in Germany and they were left to face the threat of impoverishment.¹²⁴⁴

Besides written records, it is possible to look for different people in the archaeological material. This is not unproblematic, as archaeological finds rarely reveal who used them in the past. Still, it is quite common to categorise objects like weapons or jewellery according to gender. This is not a straightforward process, and it becomes even more difficult when objects used for everyday activities at rural sites are discussed. Labour was often divided between the members of the households based on gender or age, but there has been variation in what kinds of tasks have been attributed to which members of the household over time and the geographic areas.¹²⁴⁵ Because of this variation, it can be difficult to connect certain types of objects to certain genders in archaeological material.¹²⁴⁶

Textile work and cooking are typically seen as female activities in rural areas, and items like needles, loom weights, and cooking vessels thus indicate spaces used by women.¹²⁴⁷ However, written records show that textile work was also done by men during the medieval and early modern periods, and male tailors were common in rural areas.¹²⁴⁸ The weaver Thomas Wäfvare from Västersundom shows how textile production was not only a female activity in the studied villages. Still, if cooking is seen as a mainly female activity in the medieval and early modern countryside, the separate kitchens used at least in Gubbacka and Köklax in the 13th century could be considered as spaces used first by women. Later, when large ovens became common in dwelling houses and most of the cooking activities were moved there, women lost this separate space in which they had previously spent a large part of their day. This means that the change in building practices also had a profound impact on the ways in which men and women interacted in the villages on a daily basis.

¹²⁴⁴ KA 445: 350v.

¹²⁴⁵ Österberg 1980; Myrdal 1994: 39–43; Schmidt Sabo 2004: 152–182; Harrison & Eriksson 2010: 532–533; Gräslund Berg 2011.

¹²⁴⁶ See, e.g., Kuokkanen 2008.

¹²⁴⁷ E.g. Vuorela 1975: 472–523; Schmidt Sabo 2004: 157; Svensson 2008.

¹²⁴⁸ E.g. Suvanto 1987: 163–165.

Although women are often invisible in the medieval and early modern written records, they still had an important role in different aspects of rural life. Besides being responsible for much of the everyday work on the farms, they played a part in maintaining and extending the farms' contact networks, especially via marriages. This is evident in the case of Anna, the wife of Göran Bonde's brother Per. After Per died in the late 1510s, Anna took over his affairs. When Anna remarried in 1519, her new husband Jöns Larsson became a member of Göran's trading network.¹²⁴⁹ Besides being a good example of the different roles a woman could have in the late medieval countryside of southern Uusimaa, Anna is also a good reminder of the difficulties of trying to connect certain types of objects to a certain gender: when Anna was responsible for trade and taking care of the farm, the material culture related to these activities was related to female actions. There are also examples of women being responsible for farms in the material. All of these women are widows, and they mostly appear in the tax records only for short periods of time. This was typical in the early modern period, as often the women who were left in charge of a farm after a death in the family tried to remarry or pass the farm on to a child as soon as possible.¹²⁵⁰

Although it is difficult to trace many of the groups living in the villages in the archaeological material, it is still important to note that in many ways, the archaeology of medieval rural villages is largely the archaeology of the people that have been invisible thus far. Most of the villages are mentioned in the written sources for the first time in the 16th century, so if we want to know more about them and their inhabitants, archaeology offers the best – and often the only – way to do it. Peasants were by no means a marginal group in the medieval society, but the possibilities to study them have been limited thus far because of the sparse source material. Therefore, archaeology offers great new possibilities.

11.5 DIFFERENT WAYS TO LIVE IN A VILLAGE

Above, some aspects of the material and social world of the medieval villages have been discussed. These different perspectives on rural life are good examples of how much can be learned about the material and social world of medieval and early modern villages when the details of the different, often fragmentary sources are combined to reveal new perspectives which cannot be reached based solely on one group of sources. This approach, which is typical of microhistory or microarchaeology and sourcepluralism, is well suited for studying medieval and early modern rural life. By adding the archaeological material to the discussion, it is possible to gain new insights into the material culture of the villages, but also to study the social life from new angles. The studied material clearly shows that life in the villages was not the same for all the people or throughout the studied period, but instead there was a lot of variation.

Actor-network-theory (ANT) offers a good way to approach the social life in the medieval villages. According to ANT, social life is not something preordained but instead built on interaction between the different participants of the social world.¹²⁵¹ These participants are not only human, as things can also participate in building and maintaining the social

¹²⁴⁹ Kerkkonen 1963: 121.

¹²⁵⁰ Perlestam 1997.

¹²⁵¹ E.g. Callon 1999; Latour 1999; 2005; Law 1999.

world.¹²⁵² This is also true for the medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland. Here, the material world clearly participated in building and maintaining social relations, and the changes in the material world were often closely intertwined with changes in social relationships or the social position of a farm or a person. The studied material offers some exceptionally good examples of the ways in which the networks between people and material world were connected to the ways in which the villagers lived and how they understood their place in the community.

As the material culture changed over time and varied notably between different farms and villages, it is difficult to define what the material culture on a 'typical' farmstead was, and how a 'typical' peasant acted in different situations or with whom he identified. The villagers were all engaged in agriculture on some level, and they clearly shared some ideas on how to build and which objects to use. All this likely created some sense of togetherness in the villages, and in wider rural areas. However, the 12th-century Finnish-speaking inhabitants in Mäkkylä, whose material culture still resembled strongly the items used in Iron Age Tavastia, likely understood their place in the world differently than the late medieval peasant tradesmen who were at home both in their home villages as well as in urban environments.

Tapio Salminen has noted how identities in medieval Finland were deeply connected to the different contexts in which people acted. Instead of the identities being strictly predefined and applicable to all situations, people could redefine different aspects of their identities depending on the situation.¹²⁵³ The villagers in Southern Finland also defined their own position in relation to others and to different situations. They had different aims and ambitions, which they could actively communicate and enhance through their choices. This is readily visible in the material culture of the villages. For example, the person living in the two-roomed cottage in Mankby wanted to express his wealth and good connections through the building he lived in and the personal objects he wore. It is difficult to say if he was a member of the lower nobility or if he aspired to become one, but clearly he felt a connection to the elites. Still, he lived in a village, just like the peasants.

A good example of the different aspects of social status and fluid identities in medieval villages are the peasant tradesmen. As there was only one small town in medieval Uusimaa, the role of burghers was not strong there. Tallinn was the urban centre which offered a place for peasants to sell their products and buy everyday necessities, as well as items like ceramic vessels, metal cauldrons, and quality textiles. Peasant tradesmen had a central role in spreading new influences around Uusimaa. This could mean new types of objects, but also new ideas. Visa Immonen has noted how the idea of peasants imitating the urban material culture is not well suited for medieval rural areas in Finland, as here the degree of urbanism was low and, thus, the burghers could not be the engines of change.¹²⁵⁴ Elements typically considered urban, like the use of stoneware, were spread to Uusimaa by the local rural elites, especially tradesmen, instead of local urban elites. The villagers were not passive recipients of new influences, but they instead actively chose some of these elements. New tableware and the customs connected to it were likely introduced to Uusimaa because the peasants wanted to do so for their own reasons.

In his work, Pierre Bourdieu discusses the importance of shared cultural codes, or *hab-*

¹²⁵² Latour 2005.

¹²⁵³ Salminen 2018: 19–21.

¹²⁵⁴ Immonen 2017: 37–38.

itus, as a way to distinct the members of a group from others.¹²⁵⁵ Correct table manners were a cultural code and mastering them could express a connection to a group.¹²⁵⁶ Being familiar with the urban table culture allowed the peasant tradesmen to express familiarity with the manners of the merchants. They themselves were not part of the urban merchant class, but they regularly did business with the burghers and were themselves responsible for trade in their home parishes. Mastering the urban drinking culture offered them a chance to express and maintain their connection to their urban business partners, both when they visited them in Tallinn and with their neighbours in their home villages. Thus, the objects related to table culture, such as stoneware jugs, did not only spread to Uusimaa as an urban influence adopted to imitate the elites; instead, the tradesmen acquired them to build and maintain their own specific identity.

Ben Jervis notes how imported ceramics were used in different social environments in England's Channel ports, and he suggests that they acted as mediators between the different groups. Instead of seeing the imported pottery as a sign of mercantile identity, he points to the role it had in the networks of the coastal community. Imported pottery was a link between the different communities, although these all gave different meanings to it.¹²⁵⁷ Similarly, the imported ceramics used in Uusimaa could act as a mediator between the villagers and their urban contacts across the sea, with whom they also formed a coastal network.

As noted above, a number of people gained their livelihoods in different ways living in the villages. Still, when the farm owners were listed in the tax books in 1540s, they were all grouped together and treated the same way. From the administrative point of view, this was practical, as the taxation was based on agriculture; therefore, it was sensible to focus on the agricultural side of the farms and treat people as farmers. However, it can be discussed if the people themselves saw that being a peasant or part of the peasant community was the thing that defined them the most.

Lillas offers a good example of a farm that seems to have identified strongly with the village community, but less so with the overall peasantry of their home parish.¹²⁵⁸ The peasants of the farm, starting with the peasant tradesman Göran Bonde, were actively involved in a variety of matters in the parish and beyond. In these cases, they acted as well-known and trusted witnesses or representatives of the village they lived in, Mårtensby. Despite the inhabitants being deeply involved in trade, their home farm of Lillas and its landed property were clearly important for them. In the 15th and early 16th centuries, Göran Bonde purchased more land from the neighbouring villages, showing that even though trading contacts to Tallinn were a central part of his life, he still wanted to increase the amount of land he owned in his home parish.

Even though the inhabitants of Lillas clearly valued the land they owned in the parish of Helsing, there is no sign of them ever holding one of the trusted positions central to the peasant community, despite being clearly trusted by their fellow parishioners. Instead, they had several contacts with social groups outside the peasant community and even outside the parish of Helsing. These contacts likely had a significant influence when the farm was rebuilt in the turn of the 17th century. Many of the construction details, such as the stone cellar, tile stove, and painted glass window, were typical of town burghers, vicarages, and

¹²⁵⁵ Bourdieu 1986.

¹²⁵⁶ Brown 2005.

¹²⁵⁷ Jervis 2017: 161–163.

¹²⁵⁸ See also Heinonen 2015a.

manor buildings but unique in the material studied here. It is possible that these modifications were one sign of Lillas' social aspirations, as they happened around the same time when the farm started to equip a cavalryman. At the turn of the 17th century, the wealthy peasants who were equipping cavalymen had the possibility to enhance their social position and even rise to the ranks of the nobility.¹²⁵⁹

Interestingly, the material culture appears to have first become an important medium for constructing and communicating the social position of the people living in Lillas around the time when they started to equip a cavalryman. Before this, despite the farm being deeply involved in peasant trade, the material culture did not stand out from the other sites studied in this work. Some imported pottery was used in Lillas, and based on the large earthen cellar, they clearly needed more storage space than most farms. However, it seems that if the trade accumulated any excess wealth, it was invested in something else than imported objects or special furniture. Perhaps the trade and the extensive contact network formed a sufficient basis for the social position of the inhabitants, and only when their livelihoods changed did they feel an urge or need to engage the material culture in securing their social status.

Based on all this, it can be argued that the farm did not identify just with the peasant community but built its identity on its wide contact network, wealth, and the local village community.¹²⁶⁰ It is safe to say that the farmers in Lillas belonged to the local peasant elite in the 16th and 17th centuries. Ulla Koskinen has noted how the members of the peasant elite were not simply wealthy, but also acted as mediators between the peasant community and other social groups, like the Crown's officials and gentry. They sometimes had long-reaching contact networks, and their material culture was often of a high standard.¹²⁶¹ This description fits well for the inhabitants of Lillas, despite their never ending up purchasing more land like many other well-to-do peasants in the late 16th and 17th centuries, even though the deserted farms in their home village would have offered a good possibility for this. Similar examples of new elites demonstrating and enforcing their position through material culture are found in other parts of Europe as well.¹²⁶²

Lillas is also a good example of the opportunities a detail-oriented approach to historical and archaeological material may offer. By studying and comparing both materials closely in their historical context, it is possible to engage them in dialogue in order to gain new insights into the case study in question. These insights can be used as an example for further discussion of social phenomena, like the social position of peasant tradesmen and farms equipping a cavalryman. In Lillas, material culture and social life were clearly connected. The peasant tradesmen invested in ships and built large cellars to store their goods, but they do not seem to have been too interested in purchasing a great quantity of imported tableware for their farms. Their social position appears to have been firmly based on trade, and they did not feel a need to reinforce it via things like buildings or tableware. However, when the farm decided to start to equip a cavalryman, the material culture changed completely. Thus, it seems that the inhabitants felt a need to construct the environment they lived in according to the social position they were trying to obtain. This clearly shows that material culture had an important role in building, maintaining, and communicating social roles and ambitions.

¹²⁵⁹ Jutikkala 1958: 124–126.

¹²⁶⁰ Heinonen 2015a.

¹²⁶¹ Koskinen 2016a.

¹²⁶² E.g. Campbell 2014.

12 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to answer three questions based on the archaeological and historical material concerning five villages located in central Uusimaa:

1. What was the material culture of the medieval and early modern villages in Southern Finland like?
2. What kinds of social environments were found in the medieval and early modern villages, and how did the material culture interact with the social life?
3. How can written sources and archaeological material complement each other when the medieval and early modern countryside is the focus of the research?

The five case studies discussed in this work clearly show how the material culture of the villages was varied and changed throughout the studied period. Although the archaeological material offers only a glimpse of the built environment and the different objects used in the villages, the remains of over 40 buildings and thousands of finds still give an overview of the different sides of the material culture. Although written documents offer some further information on the subject, archaeological material is best suited for studying the medieval and early modern material culture in the villages.

The archaeological material shows that although many types of objects or buildings were widely used in the studied villages, the material culture was varied and there were differences between the villages and farmsteads. Despite this variation, some general lines of the developments can be drawn. Peasants shared common ideas of how to build, and during the Middle Ages, timber houses with one room and an oven located next to the wall became the most common type of dwelling houses in the area. During the late medieval and early modern periods, the ways of building started to change gradually: glass windows appeared in the villages, possibly with chimneys, and two-roomed cottages were built in Gubbacka and possibly in Mäkkylä. At the same time, the village space was rearranged in all the studied villages, with the farms being organised in a more planned manner on the old plots in Mäkkylä and Gubbacka, and new plots being settled in Mårtensby. Settlement first started to be concentrated in the early modern village plots during the late medieval and early modern periods; before this, farmsteads had likely been more scattered around the village space.

New innovations in building were adopted in the villages quite early on, although they were often restricted to the farms with high social standing. The two-roomed cottage excavated in Mankby shows that the wealthiest villagers could build in ways that were novel even in urban environments in medieval Finland. The changes that happened in Lillas at the turn of the 17th century are a good example of how things like tile stoves and painted glass windows spread to the countryside around the same time when they were becoming more common in the towns. Lillas is also a good example of how the peasants could use their built environment to communicate their status and to express their social ambitions.

The material culture in the villages changed throughout the studied period. The villagers actively purchased new items and rebuilt their living environment. In Mäkkylä, the objects used during first settlement phase at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries resemble

the material known from Finnish Late Iron Age and early medieval contexts. During the Middle Ages, many of the objects used commonly in Western Europe reached Uusimaa, and especially tableware followed the European trends. Although the number of ceramic vessels and glass beakers remained low, they were still used all over Uusimaa. The number of objects grew during the Middle Ages and the types became more varied, so that by the 16th century, Uusimaa seems to have reached a similar Age of Transition as identified in Western Europe.

Compared to townspeople, villagers possessed less objects. Still, the material culture in the villages of central Uusimaa was not poor or one-sided. From the 14th century onwards, there was at least one farmstead in every village using tableware imported from Central or Western Europe. At these farms, drinks were served in stoneware pitchers and consumed from glass beakers. Thus, when it comes to table culture, the wealthiest peasants of Uusimaa shared elements of the material culture of the burghers and the nobility, even though the number of used items at the farms was typically smaller and included less exceptional objects than found in towns and manors. However, the small number of imported ceramics at some farmsteads does not necessarily indicate that the farm was poor. The best example of this is Lillas in the early 16th century: although the farm was clearly wealthy and well connected, the find material from the farm does not include a large number of finds like imported ceramics. Apparently, the wealth was used for something else than purchasing tableware.

It is likely that the peasant trade commonly practised in Uusimaa was a central factor behind the varied material culture in the villages. The degree of urbanism was low in medieval Finland, so instead of taking their business to the small town of Porvoo in eastern Uusimaa or travelling all the way to Turku in Finland Proper, the peasants living in Uusimaa sailed to Tallinn to sell their goods and purchase essential products like salt. The close contacts between Uusimaa and Tallinn did not have significance for the economy alone but also the material culture of the area. While visiting the busy Hanseatic town, the peasants not only acquired necessities but things like tableware and cloth as well. Through their contact with Tallinn merchants, they became familiar with the urban table culture and were willing to purchase vessels used at the tables of the town merchants. Trade offered an opportunity to gain wealth and contacts, and a chance to enhance one's social standing. It also had great importance for the social world of medieval and early modern Uusimaa.

The five case studies discussed in this work clearly demonstrate how medieval and early modern villages were a varied social environment. Written sources can tell much about the people who lived in the villages, but the archaeological material also offers new insights into the social world. The social world was maintained and constructed through the interaction between the people, but the material culture also participated in this. Therefore, by studying the material remains together with the written documents, it is possible to discuss the different social groups and their identities from new angles. The wealth, connections, and social positions of the villagers notably differed. This is evident in both the material culture and the written sources.

Although it is rarely possible to reach the actions of named individuals based on material concerning medieval villages in Finland, the agency of villagers is still visible in the material remains. Buildings are a good example of this: people shared common ideas about how to build, but still every building that has been excavated in the five studied villages has been unique in some aspect because of the different skills and aims of the builders, differences in the building sites, and availability of different materials. Therefore, by studying the material culture, the agency of the people who lived in the villages can also be studied.

Due to the settlement history of Uusimaa, there were people belonging to different language groups constantly present in the region from the turn of the Middle Ages onwards. In Uusimaa, both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking groups were involved in founding the first villages during a period when a large number of people moved to the area from Central Sweden. Uusimaa was a place for encounters between the different groups, and both material culture and place names offer glimpses of the interaction between Finns and Swedes. The presence of low-fired earthenware ceramics and objects typical of Finnish regions suggest that during the early settlement phase, they retained some elements of their previous identities. However, by the late 14th century the material culture in the area became more homogeneous; after this, the differences were mainly based on wealth and social position instead of language groups. One likely reason for this was that the originally Finnish-speaking villages in the coastal area seem to have changed their language to Swedish during the Middle Ages. During the late medieval and early modern periods, some of the villagers used different objects to enhance their social ambitions and to communicate their wealth and connections. Especially those close to the elites, possibly some of them even noblemen themselves, purchased large numbers of imported objects and even built differently than others, shaping the village landscape.

The medieval villages in central Uusimaa were places where different people lived or stayed for shorter periods of time. Besides peasants, their families and hired labourers lived on the farms. Travellers, soldiers, and short-term labourers would at times stay overnight at the farms. Inhabitants met different people also when going to church or visiting towns. Although the rural community was a peasant community, it was also more than that. Even the people who were counted as peasants in the first tax records could have a number of other livelihoods. Some of the peasants could practise different crafts, and there were peasants specialised in trade. When it comes to the medieval period with less written sources than the 16th and 17th centuries, it is difficult to say if all those who owned farms in the villages can even be called peasants. Finds from Mankby and Gubbacka suggest that persons connected to the elites, who were possibly noblemen themselves, lived in the villages during the Middle Ages, likely having a significant impact on the social relations in the villages.

These examples show how different social groups – and, resulting from this, different identities – existed simultaneously in medieval Uusimaa. Individuals were able to choose which identities they wished to communicate in different situations by the choices they made concerning the material culture. These identities were based on a number of things like wealth, contacts, language, ethnicity, livelihoods, and the aspects that were most important depending on the situation in question. It is difficult to know how the villagers saw themselves and their place in the society, as their own views have not been preserved in written documents. The village and the farm where people lived were an important part of their life and identity. However, this was not the only thing the inhabitants built their identities on.

Despite archaeological and historical material offering new insights into the social life in rural villages, there are still many groups of people that are difficult to detect. Women and children are rarely mentioned in medieval and early modern written documents, and the same is true for people who did not own land in the villages. These people are also hard to reach through archaeological material. It can be discussed if some of the activities were mainly done by people of a certain age or gender, but there are very few everyday activities at medieval farms that can be connected to certain people and that have left traces in the archaeological material. Thus, the picture of the medieval and early modern villages as a so-

cial environment is not a complete one even when different sources are used together. Some people who were part of the social world still remain out of reach of researchers.

The studied material offers a great possibility to evaluate the challenges and possibilities of combining archaeological and historical sources when studying the medieval and early modern countryside. Archaeology has great potential for the study of medieval and early modern rural areas in Finland, as it provides new research material. Historical sources offer the larger social and historical context for the different phenomena faced at the excavations and bring named individuals into the discussion. In the best cases, it is possible to use the detailed information gathered from written documents in a dialogue with the archaeological data to study the different material and social sides of rural life and trace changes over time. Things like livelihoods or wealth can be viewed from various perspectives and compared between farms and villages, in order to gain new views on the diversity of rural life which would be difficult based on just one type of source. However, due to the different nature of the two sets of material, the task is not always easy.

Köklax is a good example of the challenges that make it difficult to combine historical sources with archaeological material on the level of individual farms. Here, the historical maps show the locations of the different farms in the 18th century, making it possible to compare the excavated buildings to the historical farms. However, the maps also show how some of the farms have been moved to new plots during the 18th century, and it is possible that this happened even earlier. Therefore, even though the excavated buildings belong to the medieval farms of the village, it is impossible to say for sure if they are an older settlement phase of the farm, which was located in the same area during the 18th century, or if the space had been rearranged so that the medieval and 18th-century locations of the farms do not correspond.

As it is typically difficult to combine written documents and excavated buildings on the level of a single farmstead, the possibilities of using the two groups of sources in a dialogue are typically somewhat limited. In some cases, like with Gubbacka and Västersundom, it is challenging to even connect the archaeologically excavated site to a historical village with certainty, because the Gubbacka site was deserted before the first maps of the village were drawn. Still, this does not mean that the results of combining the different materials are poor, even in cases like Gubbacka and Västersundom; they just work on a wider level.

In some cases, the material enables deeper analysis regarding a single site. Lillas is a great example of the possibilities that arise when the archaeological material can be connected to a farm known from historical documents. The case of Lillas shows how peasants could use social networks, material culture, and different livelihoods to gain wealth and a good social position, and then communicate this and even their ambitions in a changing world through the objects they used and the way they arranged their living space. Cases like this best enable a detailed microhistorical or microarchaeological study, where the details of a single case can be used to identify wider social phenomena.

Medieval and early modern villages were the place where most of the rural life took place. Even though the five villages studied in this work do not offer a comprehensive picture of all the different sides of the material and social life in medieval and early modern Finnish villages, they clearly demonstrate how varied the rural life could be in central Uusimaa. In order to learn if the villages were as varied environments in other areas as well, more studies are required. It would be important to reanalyse existing material, and to direct archaeological surveys and excavations to regions that have been less studied so far.

Based on the example set by the five villages studied here, a good way to approach the material and social world of the medieval and early modern is to see them as networks connecting people and things. People were the actors who moved around the social world, but things also played a central role in building, maintaining, and shaping the social world. For example, when a two-roomed cottage was built in Mankby in the 14th century, it was not simply a place to dwell but a way to communicate the social status of the dwellers by building a kind of house that was commonly used by the nobility, rarely by common peasants. The arrangement of space in the two-roomed cottage also affected the ways of living, as the different activities became divided between the rooms: based on the distribution of finds, one room remained a private space, while the other was used for dining and likely receiving guests. Different objects were used in different rooms, further enforcing the difference between their functions. As a result, different inhabitants and visitors moved in different spaces and used different objects.

When the different aspects of medieval villages are studied in detail, many of the characteristics commonly attributed to them seem to only be true for some part of the period or some of the cases. The villages were not an equal environment, but there were notable differences in the wealth, connections, and social status of the inhabitants, and even between the farmers. The built environment and material culture were varied and in constant flux, and the loosely built early medieval villages with buildings representing different traditions do not much resemble the historical villages documented by ethnologists. The material culture was not poor compared to towns; similar objects were used in the rural areas as well, although in lesser quantities. Clearly, many of the current ideas of what it was like to live in a medieval village need to be revised, as the increasing archaeological material offers new information about the material culture of the villages.

In the future, when the number of excavated rural sites grows, it will be possible to get a new and more varied picture of the medieval rural life in different regions of Finland. The examples given by the five sites studied in this work show that archaeology has a lot to offer, especially when the material dimensions of medieval life are studied. Furthermore, based on the new, more detailed, and varied picture of material culture, it is possible to discuss the social dimensions of village life from new angles. Archaeological material offers a new chance to study the development of the villages, the use of space, differences in wealth, and the different social groups living there.

In a best-case scenario, it is even possible to combine the different sources at the level of a single farm, making the agency of the peasants and other inhabitants of the farms visible in new ways. It is these cases that can offer the most insight into the question of what it meant to be a peasant in Finland or a rural inhabitant in Europe in the medieval and early modern periods. All in all, it is safe to say that in the future, archaeological material and historical sources have great research potential when used together in a dialogue.

ABBREVIATIONS

DF	Diplomatarium Fennicum
KA	Kansallisarkisto (The National Archives of Finland)
RA	Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives)
SAOB	Svenska Akademiens Ordbok
TLA	Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (Tallinn City Archives)

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Raaseporin tuomiokunnan renovoidut tuomiokirjat

Läänintilit (Province Accounts/ New Collection of accounts)

Uudenmaan ja Hämeen läänin tilejä

Voudintilit (Bailiff's accounts/ Old Collection of accounts)

Karjalan voutikunnan tilejä

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APPENDIX 1 Glossary of historical administrative terms

Bol, veronperintäalue An administrative unit for collecting taxes formed by several villages. Equivalent to *fjärding*, used in the provinces of Raseborg and Åbo.

Domsbok, tuomiokirja Protocols kept in the court. Typically collected into volumes containing the protocols of a given area for several years.

Fjärding, neljänneskunta An administrative unit for collecting taxes formed by several villages.

Fjärdingsman, neljännesmies A trusted position held by a peasant chosen from a *fjärding*. Responsible for assisting the administration.

Fogde, vouti A person responsible for administration and tax collection in a given area.

Fogderäkenskaper, voudintilit, Bailiff's accounts. A collection of the Crown's account books between 1537–1634, also known as the older collection of accounts.

Län, lääni An administrative area, a province, consisting of several parishes.

Länsman, nimismies A trusted position held by a peasant of a given parish. Responsibilities included participating in organising court sessions, assisting the administration, and supervising inns and roads in a parish.

Länsräkenskaper, läänintilit, Province accounts. A collection of the Crown's account books between 1635–1808, also known as the younger collection of accounts.

Mantalslängd, henkikirja List containing the population of a given area, not including children.

Nämndeman, lautamies A layman juror. Normally twelve lay jurors were chosen for each *ting*, where they acted as experts for local circumstances. A *nempdemän* could also be asked to witness different official protocols, such as land surveys.

Saköresregister, sakkoluettelo Record of fines imposed in the local court. Included in the Bailiff's accounts.

Slottslän, linnalääni An administrative area consisting of several parishes with a castle as the centre for administration.

Socken, pitäjä An administrative area consisting of several villages.

Ting, käräjät Court session, a thing. Court sessions were typically held in every parish three times per year during the Middle Ages and early modern period.

Used sources

Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland: Förvaltningshistorisk ordbok. fho.sls.fi
Kansallisarkisto, Arkistojen portti.

APPENDIX 2 Fines imposed on the inhabitants of the studied villages

MANKBY

Court	Parties in Mankby	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home villages)
Autumn court 1541	Jacob's son, Lasse's daughter	Fighting	
Autumn court 1545	Jöns	Fighting	Mats Svensson (Nupurböle)
Autumn court 1547	Vincentius	Fighting	Henrich (Bodebäck)
Summer court 1551	Simon Larsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1551	Siffred	Dispute over some grains	Michell Kwpp
Winter court 1556		Swearing at the court	

Sources for the table: KA 2926: 13; KA 2947: 79v; KA 2957: 17v; KA 229a: 16v; KA 2992a: 32v; KA 3046: 32.

KÖKLAX

Court	Parties in Köklax	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home villages)
Lagmans court 1542	Mats, Thomas	Fighting	
Winter court 1543	Erik Basse	Dispute over land	Per Matsson (Espoby)
Summer court 1544	Bertt: Rasi	Refusing to pay bishops taxes	
Summer court 1544	Anders i Köklax	Unlawful building	
Autumn court 1544	Bertill i Skogh	Unauthorized use of church's forest	
Autumn court 1545	Staffan i Kökelax	Fighting	
Autumn court 1545	Thomas i Kökelax	Fighting	
Winter court 1546	Morthen Persson	Having sex with another woman than his own wife	
Summer court 1546	Erik Basse	Violating a prohibition for sailing to Tallinn	
Autumn court 1546	Anders i Kökelax	Theft	Jöns Kurittu
Summer court 1547	Anders i Kökelax	Fighting	Erik (Stensvik)
Summer court 1547	Anders i Kökelax	Fighting	Siffrid (Muleby)
Autumn court 1547	Basse i Kökelax, Jöns Andersson, Staffan, Morthen, Thomas, Mats, Anders	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Summer court 1551	Staffan i Kökelax	Disobediences	
Summer court 1551	Anders i Köklax, Thomas i Köklax	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Summer court 1552	Olof Basse	Fighting	
Priest's winter court 1552	Morthen Basse, Britta (Basse's maid)	Having sex while not being married	
Winter court 1553	Anders Jopsson	Theft	
Winter court 1553	Erik i Köklax	Insulting a person	Jacob Gråå
Winter and summer court 1557	Erik i Köklax	Illegal transaction of a piece of land	Jöran (Mulby)
Autumn court 1557	Morthen i Kökelax		
Autumn court 1559	Thomas i Kökelax	Unauthorized use of a neighbour's meadow	
Spring court 1559	Sake Tomas	Swearing	

Court	Parties in Köklax	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home villages)
Autumn court 1565	Anders Jönsson	Neglecting to maintain bridges and fences	
Winter court 1567	Thomas Eriksson	Fighting	Per Larsson (Espoby)
Summer court 1580	Mons son i Köklax	Fighting	Hans Eriksson (Kuritbacka)
Summer court 1580	Mons son i Köklax	Fighting	Michel Eriksson (Fansby)
Court 1592	Morthen Monsson	Fighting	Morthen (Leffuasböle)
Summer and autumn court 1625	Markus Sigfredsson, Mats Persson, hustru Walborg	Offending Capital 10 in Bygnings Balken in the law	

Sources for the table: KA 2926: 18r; KA 2939: 45v; KA 2939: 50v; KA 2939: 50r; KA 2939: 54r; KA 2947: 79v–80r; KA 2952: 60r; KA 2952: 63r; KA 2952: 67r; KA 2957: 8r; KA 2957: 19v; KA 2992a: 15r; KA 2992a: 16v; KA 3002: 128r; KA 3022a: 5v; KA 3022a: 30r; KA 3076: 32v; KA 3076: 33r; KA 3169: 1r; KA 3169: 10v; KA 3278: 196; KA 3294: 107r; KA 3391: 100v; KA 3458: 96v; KA 3632: 29v.

MÄKKYLÄ

Court	Parties in Mäkkylä	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home villages)
Summer court 1563	Siffred Persson	Fighting	Hans Larsson (Kilo)
Autumn court 1566	Siffred Persson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1570	Oluff Morthensson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Winter court 1570	Siffred Persson	Fighting	Simon Andersson (Konungsböle)
Winter court 1570	Siffred Persson	Fighting	Morthen Larsson (Storhoplax)
Winter court 1571	Siffred Persson	Refusing to fish	
Summer court 1571	All peasants	Offence on a Church holiday	
Summer court 1574	Anders Persson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1576	Oluf Michilsson, Morthen Jönsson, Anders Persson, Hans Hendersson, Siffred Persson	Refusing to build a building for malting in the vicarage	
Autumn court 1576	Oluf Michilsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Winter court 1579	Oluf Mechell	Swearing	
Summer court 1581	Erich Siffredsson, Michell Persson	Fighting	
Summer court 1589	Erich Siffredsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1592	Morthen Larsson	Not stated in the register	
Winter, autumn and spring court 1598	Erich Siffredsson, Per Eriksson	Neglecting to maintain bridges and fences	

Sources for the table: KA 3231: 13v; KA 3278: 194r; KA 3315: 86r; KA 3315: 90v; KA 3326: 36r; KA 3326: 37v; KA 3347: 73r; KA 3364: 85r; KA 3371: 85v; KA 3385: 99v; KA 3396: 54v; KA 3441: 57v; KA 3455: 59v; KA 3475: 93v.

MÅRTENSBY

Court	Parties from Mårtensby	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home villages)
Summer court 1556	Bentt Jörensso n	Fighting	Jacob Michelsson (Lappböle)
Summer court 1563	Lasse Jonsson	Fighting	Thomas Jacobsson (Lappböle)
Summer court 1563	Matts Benttson's farmhand , Mats Morthensson	Fighting	
Summer court 1573	Jacob Matsson, Mats Bengtsson's farmhand	Fighting	
Autumn court 1574	Simon Thomasson (Mads Bengtson's farmhand)	Sex between unmarried persons	
Winter court 1574	Jöns Persson	Swearing	
Autumn court 1575	Oluff Morthensson	Neglecting transportation obligations	
Autumn court 1576	Matts Bengtson , Oluf Morthensson	Fighting	
Autumn court 1577	Oluff Morthensson	Fighting	Michel Jönsson (Quarnbacka)
Winter court 1578	Mats Bengtsson	Fighting	Anders Larsson (Lappböle)
Autumn and winter court 1585	Jacob Madsson	Fighting	Erich Madsson (Quarnbacka)
Summer court 1588	Siffred Matsson, Mats Bengtsson	Fighting	
Summer court 1589	Jacob Mathsson	Fighting	Erich Madsson (Quarnbacka)
Autumn court 1589	Mårthen Olson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	

Inhabitants of Lillas are marked in **bolded** letters. Sources for the table: KA 3046: 35r; KA 3231: 12r; KA 3231: 13v; KA 3341: 92v; KA 3347: 65r; KA 3347: 69v; KA 3357: 51v; KA 3364: 85v; KA 3371: 85v; KA 3379: 46v; KA 3413: 94r; KA 3434: 96r; KA 3441: 57v; KA 3441: 59v.

VÄSTERSUNDOM

Court	Parties in Västersundom	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home village)
Autumn court 1547	Erich Jönsson	Refusing to lend a ship to the Crown	
Autumn court 1547	Mats Mortensson i Sondom	Neglecting to maintain bridges and fences	
Spring court 1551	Walborgh	Demanding hay violently	Mats Nilsson (Onas)
Winter court 1552	Lasse Persson, Olof Michilsson, Bertil Michilsson Inbyggeby	Fishing on a Church holiday	
Autumn court 1553	Michel Jonsson	Refusing to catch fish for the Crown	
Autumn court 1553	Per Larsson	Neglecting to maintain bridges and fences	
Spring court 1553	Michel	Neglecting to maintain bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1558	Nils Jonssons dreng	Fighting	Bengt Knutsson (Gumböle)
Winter court 1563	Mats Olsson, Mats Jonsson	Fighting on a Church holiday	Oluf (Kärr)
Winter court 1565	Lasse Persson	Punching a Crown's boatman	Crown's boatman
Winter court 1565	Henrich Nilsson		Bengt Knutsson (Gumböle)

Court	Parties in Västerson	Reason for the fine	Other parties (and their home village)
Spring court 1566	Nils Jonsson	Refusing to salt fish for the Crown	
Autumn court 1567	Jacob Hendrichsson, Lasse	Fighting	Lasse
Autumn court 1567	Morthen Andersson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Winter court 1568	Jacob Hendrichsson	Dragnet fishing on Sunday night	Erich Mancke (Husö), Jöns Andersson (Fansby)
Spring court 1569	Henrich Nilsson	Fighting	Hans Jacobsson (Granö) Clemet Nilsson (Granö)
Autumn court 1570	Nils Jönsson	Disobedience	
Summer court 1571	Lasse Persson	Fighting	Clemet Nilsson (Kärr)
Autumn court 1572	Mats Olsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1573	Enwald Morthensson, Mats Andersson	Fighting	Mats Andersson
Winter court 1573	Thomas Andersson, Mats Andersson	Fighting	Mats Andersson
Summer court 1573	Anders Nilsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Winter court 1574	Thomas Nilsson, Morthen Andersson, Jacob Hendrichsson, Lasse Persson	Refusing to fish for the länsman	
Autumn court 1575	Enwald Morthensson	Fighting	Thomas Nilsson
Summer court 1575	Anders Nilsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Summer court 1577	Jacob Hendrichsson	Swearing	
Summer court 1578	Anders Nilsson	Fighting on Church road	
Summer court 1578	Mats Olsson, Lasse Matsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Winter court 1581	Anders Nilsson	Slandering	
Summer court 1586	Mats Jonsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Summer court 1586	Thomas Nilssons hustru, Oluf Persson	Fighting	Oluf Persson
Autumn court 1586	Enwald Morthensson	Neglecting to maintain fences	
Summer court 1587	Erich Larsson	Neglecting to maintain fences	
Autumn court 1587	Enwald Morthensson		
Summer court 1588	Lasse Persson, Morthen Jonsson, Erich Larsson, Jacob Hansson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Summer (?) court 1589	Erich Larsson	Swearing	
Spring (?) court 1590	Frans Matsson	Fighting	Lasse Matsson (Sottungsby)
Court 1592	Jacob Hansson	Not stated in the register	
Autumn court 1592	Jacob Hansson	Not stated in the register	

Sources for the table: KA 2961: 277v; KA 2961: 278v; KA 2994: 59v; KA 3009: 2r; KA 3022a: 51v; KA 3022: 51r; KA 3022a: 58v; KA 3101: 2r; KA 3231: 8v; KA 3262: 22r; KA 3278: 199r; KA 3294: 102v; KA 3294: 102r; KA 3302: 30v; KA 3308: 205r; KA 3315: 86v; KA 3326: 37v; KA 3335: 139v; KA 33441: 87r; KA 3341: 91v; KA 3341: 94v; KA 3347: 68v; KA 3357: 50r; KA 3357: 54v; KA 3371: 91r; KA 3379: 51v; KA 3379: 51r; KA 3396: 54v; KA 3419: 95r; KA 3425: 89r; KA 3425: 92v; KA 3430: 61r; KA 3430: 65r; KA 3441: 57r; KA 3448: 127v; KA 3455: 59r.

APPENDIX 3 Court cases involving the studied villages until 1662

KÖKLAX

Court	Parties in Köklax	Case	Other parties (and their home villages)
Summer court 1562	Thomas Eriksson	Theft	
Court in the parish of Esbo, 22.7.1607	Hustru Marie, Hans Jacobsson, Mats Thomsson	Division of an estate	
Court in Esbo, 28.10.1629	Mons Morthensson	Settling a debt	Mårthes (Esbo gård), Anders Bertilsson (Fansby), Knut Siffredsson (Träskända)
Winter court 1648	Erik Henriksson, Brita Birgittasdotter	Having sex while not being married	

Sources for the table: KA 216d: 26v; Raasepori I KO a:1: 113r; Porvoo I KO a:4: 148r; RA Raseborgs län 1606–1608.

MÄKKYLÄ

Court	Parties in Mäkkylä	Case	Other parties (and their place of home)
Summer court 1592	Per Eriksson	Theft	Påval Classon (town of Helsingfors)
Autumn court 1592	Morten Larsson, Lasse Olsson	Fighting	
Autumn and winter court 1595	Per Eriksson, the sister of Erik Sigfredsson's wife	Having sex while not being married	
Winter court 1596	Lasse Olsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	

Sources for the table: KA 291: 12v, 19v, 88v, 123v.

MÅRTENSBY

Court	Parties in Mårtensby	Case	Other parties (and their place of home)
Winter and summer court 1592	Morten Olsson	Distribution of an estate	Henrich Jörensso (Malm)
Winter and summer court 1592	Simon Persson	Settling a debt	
Spring court 1621	Michill Simonsson, Hindrich Matsson	Distribution of an estate	
Spring court 1621	Mårthen Matsson , Michill Simonsson	Fighting	
Winter court 1640	Claes Mårthensson	Collecting a debt	Simon Martij, vicar (Ny Skans), Herr Joseph, vicar (Nurmijärvi)
Autumn court 1641	Claes Mårthensson	Dispute over a mill	Nobleman Mats Tynneson and his tenants (Lappböle)
Autumn court 1641	Mårthen Matsson	Settling a debt	Bertill Matsson (Lappböle)
Winter court 1642	Whole village	Dispute over a mill	Mats Tynneson's tenants (Lappböle)

Court	Parties in Mårtensby	Case	Other parties (and their place of home)
Winter court 1644	Claes Mårthensson	Dispute over a meadow and a mill	Nobleman Mats Tynneson and his tenants (Lappböle)
Winter court 1644	Michill Simonsson	Surveying a deserted farm	
Winter court 1644	Mårthen Matsson	Surveying a border between Mårtensby and Kårböle	Jesper Mårthensson, representing nobleman Jören Bönerds (nobleman)
Winter court 1647	Claes Mårthensson	Distribution of an estate	Alissa Andersdotter, cousin of Claes Mårthensson
Autumn court 1648	Michill Simonsson	Resettling a deserted farm	Mats Jörensso (Tavastby)
Autumn court 1659	Claes Mårthensson	Having sex while not being married	Brita Jörensdotter (Keimby); farmhand and boatman Henrich Sigfredsson (Keimby)
Autumn court 1660	Erich Matsson	Giving up a farm	
Autumn court 1662	Claes Mårthensson, Mats Larsson (Claes' cavalryman), Anders Sigfredsson	Conflict over settling a debt	
Autumn court 1662	Malin Sigfredsdotter	Distribution of an estate	Thomas Michelsson (Lappböle), Erich Thomasson (Skatmansby)
Autumn court in the parish of Esbo 1645	Claes Mårthensson	Settling a debt	Hustru Margethe (Kvarnby)

Inhabitants of Lillas are marked in **bolded** letters. Sources for the table: KA 219: 12r, 13v; Porvoo I KO a1: 3; I KO a3: 107, 150, 151, 173; I KO a:4: 18, 23, 24, 92, 133; I KO a: 5: 17, 73, 76; Raasepori I KO a: 3: 77.

VÄSTERSUNDOM

Court	Parties in Västersundom	Case	Other parties (and their place of home)
Sumer and winter court 1592	Karin Erichsdotter; Jacob Hansson	Compensation for a killed sheep	
Sumer and winter court 1592	Matts Andersson, Karin Erichsdotter	Compensation for a barrel of barley	
Autumn court 1592	Marcus	Settling a debt	
Autumn court 1592	Marcus, Erich Larsson's son	Settling a debt	Siffred Marcusson (Andersböle)
Autumn court 1592	Jacob Hansson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Winter court 1593	Thomas Jönsson	Resettling a deserted farm	
Summer court 1595	Thomas Jönsson	Resettling a deserted farm	
Summer court 1595	Morthen Jönsson	Neglecting to maintain roads, bridges and fences	
Autumn court 1621	Thomas Hindersson	Order to found an inn	
Autumn court 1621	Jacob Siffredsson, Nicku Erich	Transaction of landed property	Erich Olufsson's wife (Sibbo Kyrkeby), Knut Hindersson, Botwed Hansson, Her Siffred (vicar in the parish of Helsing)
Autumn court 1623	Samuel Bertilsson, maid of Samuel's mother	Having sex while not being married	

Court	Parties in Västersundom	Case	Other parties (and their place of home)
Autumn court 1627	Jacob Siffredsson i Heickbacka, Jacob Siffredsson's farmhand, Siffred Matsson	Fighting	
Winter court 1631	Nils Morthensson	Neglecting to maintain fences	
Winter (?) court 1633	Siffred Matsson	Neglecting to attending to court	
Winter (?) court 1633	Erich Jacobsson, Siffred Matsson	Borrowing a boat without permission	
Autumn court 1638	Henrich Thönsson, Mats Siffredsson		
Summer court 1640	Henrdich Thönsson	Swearing	Mats Simonsson (Baggböle)

Sources for the table: KA 219: 10, 21, 33, 105, 106; Porvoo I KO a:1: 20, 98, 393-394; I KO a:2: 99, 166, 167; I KO a: 3: 64v, 122v.

APPENDIX 4 Buildings documented in the studied villages

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No	Description	Size	m ²	Contexts	Period	Function
27	Rectangular hearth, part of timber frame	2 x 1.5 m (hearth)		R13-43, Y13-103	late 12th-13th century	Dwelling
28	Partly demolished rectangular hearth, part of timber frame	1.2 x 1.0 m (partly destroyed hearth)		R13-102, R13-96, Y13-101	mid-13th century	Dwelling
29	Burnt floor timbers with corner stones, possibly two roomed building	min 6.5 x 5.5 m ('northern room')	35	Y13-122, Y13-123, Y13-124	late 13th century	Dwelling
23	Two-roomed cottage with three rooms, the northern and southern with fire places	15 x 5 m (room area), 1.5 x 3 m cellar; 4 x 5 m northern room, 5 x 4.6 m middle room, 4 x 5 m southern room	65	R9-35, R13-1, R13-31, Y13-41, Y17-66, R17-67, R17-68, R17-69, Y17-70, R13-107, R13-97?	14th-15th century	Dwelling
11	Oven and wall foundations	4.0 x 7.0 m	28	Y8-19, Y8-41, R8-49, Y8-53, Y8-54, Y8-55, R8-60, R8-61, R8-68, R8-69, R8-70	15th-16th century	Dwelling
13	Post-medieval drying barn with a large oven			R9-10, R9-11	late 16th-18th century	Drying barn
Ku16-54	Stove or two stoves and several postholes			Y16-27, R16-28, Y16-51, Ku16-52, Ku16-40, Ku16-42, R16-47, Ku16-49, Ku16-54, Ku16-55 R16-56, Y16-57	14-15th century	

No – Building number, m² – Surface area m² (min), Context – Structures and layers connected to the building, Undet. – Undetermined, Period – Period of use.

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No	Description	Size	m ²	Context	Period	Function
Saka 7-2/ 8-4	A rectangular building with two rooms, one with an oven foundation in the corner and one storage room	8.0 x 5.0 m; ca 2.2 x 1.5 (oven foundation)	40	R705, R113 (oven foundation); Y713, Y714, R715, Y716, Y720, R724, R725, Y726, Y729, Ku740; Y833, R814	Late 14th–15th century	Dwelling
Saka 8-5/ Saka 9-1	Northwestern part of a building, only wood related to floor or wall structures preserved	8 m (length)		R855:1, R855:2, R946, R854, Y851, Y852; (R854, Y849?)	Late 14th–15th century	Undet.
Saka 8-6	A rectangular small building	4.0 x 5.0 m	20	R824, Y829, R830, R840, Y848	Late 13th-early 14th century	Dwelling?
Saka 9-2	Possible wall remains of one or two buildings			R218, R935, R936, R937; Y939?, Y940?	Early modern?	Undet.
Saka 10-3	Remains of wall foundations and wooden floor			Y1020	15th-17th century	Undet.

No	Description	Size	m ²	Context	Period	Function
R914	An oven or stove foundation, with nearby post holes and a ditch possibly originating from a building	min 4 x 5 m	20	R914, Y921; Y920?, Y927?, Ku919?	13th-14th century	Cooking/dwelling?
Y107	A cultural layer surrounded by post holes	min 6 x 3	18	Y107, Ku727, Ku732, Ku734, Ku846, Ku847	Late 13th-early 14th century	Workshop?

No – Building number, m² – Surface area m² (min), Context – Structures and layers connected to the building, Undet. – Undetermined, Period – Period of use.

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No	Description	Size	m ²	Context	Period	Function
RA1-A	A large building with oven and wall foundation of large stones	10-12 m (length)		Y1-9, Y1-10, R1-47, oven C; Y1-43? R1-35? R1-23?	16th–17th century	Dwelling
RA1-B	Eastern end of a building with wall foundations	4.5 (width), length min 6 m	27	Y1-21, R1-25, R1-26, R1-27, Y1-28, Y1-29	15th–16th century	Outbuilding or dwelling?
RA1-C	Southwestern part of a building with wall foundations	3.5 m (width)		R1-48, R1-49, R1-50; R1-23? R1-35?	15th–16th century	Outbuilding or dwelling?
RA2-A	Building with an oven	7.5 (width), length min 7.5 m	55	R2-12, Y2-26, Y2-28, Y2-29, R2-33a, R2-33b, R2-34, R2-45, R2-50, Y2-53b; Ku2-41? Y2-57? Y2-37? Y2-60? R2-68? Y2-46? Y2-47? Y2-51? R2-52?	16th–17th century	Dwelling
RA2-C	Building with an oven	min 5.5 x 4.5 m	25	R2-11, Y2-39, Y2-70, Y2-77, Y2-83, Y2-84, Y2-85, R2-114, R2-115; Y2-49? Y2-70? Y2-90? Y2-116? R2-120? Y2-121?	15th–16th century?	Dwelling
RA2-D	Building with burnt wooden floor, some stone foundations for walls and a possible stove	4 m (width), length min 4 m	16	R2-45, Y2-65, Y2-81, R2-87, R2-88, R2-89, Ku2-97, R2-123; R2-86?	13th-15th century?	Dwelling or outbuilding?
RA2-E	Remains of a burnt floor with a possible stove	5 m (width), length min 4 m	20	Y2-74, Y2-110, R2-112, Y2-113	12th–13th century	Dwelling or outbuilding?
RA3-A	A stove foundation, a small part of eastern wall foundation, possibly western wall foundation	2 x 2 m (stove); 7 x 4 m?	28	Y3-19, R3-23, Y3-34, Y3-37, R3-44, Y3-59, Y3-84, Y3-87, Y3-88, Ku3-97, Y3-98; R6-2?	12th–13th century	Dwelling or cooking?
RA3-B	Southwestern part of wall foundations, possible remains of a stove	5.5 m, other wall at least 4.5 m	25	Y3-33, R3-45, Y3-55, R3-61, Y3-67, Ku3-90, Y3-91, R3-99, Ku3-110, Y3-101, Ku3-102, Y3-103, R3-3?	16th–17th century	Outbuilding?
RA6-A	Oven foundation, remains of wooden floor and parts of wall foundations	5.5 x 7 m	39	R6-3, Y6-9, Y6-16, Y6-21, R6-22, R6-23, Y6-25, R6-26, R6-35, Y6-50, R6-52, R6-61	16th–17th century	Dwelling?

No	Description	Size	m ²	Context	Period	Function
RA6-B	Wall and oven foundations	6 m (length), width min 3 m	18	R6-43, R6-48, R6-28, Y6-29	Late medieval, ca. 16th–17th century?	Outbuilding?
RA6-C	Part of wall foundations, possible stove	3 m (min length)		Y6-12, Y6-29, R6-41, R6-42, R6-82	Earlier than mid-16th century	Undet.
RA5-A	A large oven, possibly some cultural layers related to floor			R5-4, Y5-6, Y5-7, Y5-8, R5-11, Y5-13, Y5-14; Y5-9?	16th–17th century	Dwelling
RA4-A	A large oven, possibly some cultural layers related to floor				16th–17th century	Dwelling?

No – Building number, m² – Surface area m² (min), Context – Structures and layers connected to the building, Undet. – Undetermined, Period – Period of use.

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No	Description	Size	m ²	Context	Period	Function
3A	A cellar with possible oven and wall foundations; a younger cellar possibly belonging to the same building	7 x 8 m?; 2.5 x 3 m (older cellar pit); 2 x 2.5 (younger cellar pit)	56	R3-66; R7-10? R8-16? Y3-64?	16th – early 18th century	Storage/dwelling
3B	A building with an oven foundation	9 x min 5.5 m?	50	R3-14, R3-30, R3-45, R3-46; R8-11?	early 18th – 19th century	Dwelling
4A	A cellar with stone walls	9 x 4 m (min), 3 x 2.5 m (cellar)	36	R4-3, R4-7, R4-14	16th – early 18th century	Storage/dwelling
6A	A small stove with a possible floor layer around it	1 x 1.2 m (stove)		Y6-84, R6-85, Y6-86, Y6-91	15th – early 16th century	Outbuilding/cooking
6B	An oven foundation and some cultural layers	4 x 2 m (min)		R6-32, Y6-63B; Y6-69, Y6-70, R6-72?	late 16th – 17th century	Outbuilding/dwelling
6C	A building with a large oven			R6-31; Y6-2B?	17th–18th century	Outbuilding/dwelling

No – Building number, m² – Surface area m² (min), Context – Structures and layers connected to the building, Undet. – Undetermined, Period – Period of use.

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No	Description	Size	m ²	Contex	Period of use	Function
GB1/I	A building with an oven and clear wall foundations	6 x 8 m; 2.5 x 2.0 oven	48	R103, R114:1, R127:1, R127:2, R139, Y108, Y112, Y121, Y124, Y125, Y133, R114:3? R114:2?	15th–16th centuries, possibly with older use phase	Sauna and/or dwelling?
GB1/II	Western end of a building with oven foundation and corner stones for walls	6 x min 8 m; 3 x 3 m oven	48	R101, R109, R110, Y118, Y119, Y134, Ku135; Ku129? R120?	15th–16th centuries	Dwelling?
GB1/III	Possible wall foundation	5 m (length)		R145	Pre-16th century?	Undet.

No	Description	Size	m ²	Contex	Period of use	Function
GB2/I	Eastern end of a building with an oven in the northeastern corner	7 x min 7 m; 2.5 x 3 m oven	49	R203, R203:1, R217, Y213, Y215, Y220, Y221, Y223, Y233	15th–16th century	Dwelling
GB2/II	A building with an oven and wall foundations and remains of a wooden floor	8 x min 7 m; 3.5 x 2.5 oven	56	R201, Y205, Y218, Y221, Y226, Y230, Y232, Y235, R234:1, R234:2, R234:3, R234:4; R202?	15th–16th centuries	Dwelling
GB3/I	Defined as the south-eastern corner of a building, but unclear if the stones actually belong to a separate building			R302, Y305, Y312; R323? R318?	Undet.	Undet.
GB3/II	A building with an oven foundation			R301, Y310, Y312, R313, R314, R315, Y320, R323	16th century?	Workshop/smithy?
GB4/I	Defined as the eastern end of a building mainly located on excavation area 3, but no such building seems to be found on excavation area 3?			R401	Undet.	Undet.
GB4/II	Unclear if GB 4/II is a building or some other stone structure			R410	Undet.	Undet.
B 1	An oven with some cultural layers and a possible wall foundation	2.5 x 3.5 m (oven)		R101, 103A, 103B, 105A, 105B, Y106, Ku107, Y109	16th century	Dwelling/outbuilding?
B 2B	A building with an oven and possible wall foundations	min 4 x 6 m; 3 x 3 m (oven)	24	R401, Y404, Y408, Y409, Y410, Y420, Y424, Ku413; R407? Ku414W, Ku414E, Ku418?	14th–16th century?	Dwelling
B 2A	A possible older building phase of building 2, a building with walls founded with posts	3 x 3 m (oven)		R401, Ku414W, Ku414E, Ku418, Y424	13th–15th century?	Dwelling/cooking
B 3	A building with an oven	min 6 x 6 m; 2 x 2.5 m (oven)	36	R601, Y607, Y611, Y613, Y616, Y618, Ku622, R624, Y628, R629	14th–16th century	Dwelling

No – Building number, m² – Surface area m² (min), Context – Structures and layers connected to the building, Undet. – Undetermined, Period – Period of use.

APPENDIX 5 Radiocarbon dates

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Sample ID	Sampled material	Context	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age
Hela-1566	Bone	Layer related to an oven, Y1-12	290 (30)	1492–1602 AD (64,6 %), 1615–1663 AD (30,8 %)
Hela-1954	Charred grain	Floor layer, Y9-35	560 (55)	1296–1438 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-1955	Charred grain	Test pit KK9-2	685 (60)	1242–1403 AD (93,6 %) 1224–1235 AD (1,8 %)
Hela-2001	Bone	Layer related to structure R8-10, Y8-13	285 (35)	1490–1603 AD (60,8 %) 1612–1666 AD (32,8 %) 1785–1794 (1,8 %)
Hela-2002	Bone	Stone structure, Y9-13	325 (35)	1473–1645 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2003	Bone	Cultural layer, Y11-20	725 (35)	1224–1300 AD (90,6 %) 1368–1382 (4,8 %)
Hela-2005	Bone	Fill layer of a pit, Y11-12	280 (35)	1492–1602 AD (56,9 %) 1615–1667 AD (35,3 %) 1783–1797 AD (3,3 %)
Hela-2554	Burnt bone	Prehistoric cultural layer, Y8-65	3832 (32)	2408–2198 BC (87,7 %) 2457–2417 BC (6,6 %) 2161–2152 BC (1,1 %)
Hela-2555	Burnt bone	Prehistoric cultural layer, Y8-65	3712 (32)	2202–2024 BC (95,4 %)
Hela-2608	Charred grain	Fill of a pit (a grave?), Y8-50	742 (24)	1226–1289 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2609	Charred grain	Fill layer from a cellar, Y9-30	781 (32)	1193–1283 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2610	Charred grain	Field, Y12-9	687 (24)	1270–1308 AD (71,4 %) 1361–1386 AD (24,0 %)
Hela-2611	Charred grain	Field, Y12-9	723 (24)	1256–1298 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2612	Charred grain	Field, Y12-10	1011 (33)	970–1053 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2613	Soot? (karsta)	Prehistoric cultural layer, Y8-65	3698 (37)	2201–1976 BC (95,4 %)
Hela-3518	Charred grain	Wall foundation, R13-200	688 (39)	1260–1323 AD (62,0 %) 1347–1393 AD (33,4 %)
Hela-3519	Charred grain	Hearth, Y16-57	466 (32)	1409–1466 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-3540	Charred wood	Hearth, R13-96	843 (18)	1162–1249 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-3541	Charred wood	Hearth, R13-96	856 (18)	1156–1225 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-3542	Charred wood	Hearth, R13-43, R13-126	868 (18)	1058–1075 AD (3,5 %) 1153–1220 AD (91,9 %)
Hela-3543	Charred wood	Hearth, R13-43, R13-126	852 (19)	1157–1225 AD (92,7 %) 1231–1245 AD (2,7 %)
Hela-3544	Charred wood	Cultural layer, Y13-76	750 (18)	1246–1285 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-3545	Charred wood	Cultural layer, Y13-76	827 (19)	1170–1258 AD (95,4 %)
Poz-70138	Charred grain	Field ditch, Y12-5	565 (30)	1306–1364 AD (54,2%) 1384–1426 AD (41,2%)
Poz-70139	Charred grain	Cultural layer, Y16-46	485 (30)	1406–1451 AD (95,4 %)
Poz-70141	Charred grain	Hearth, Y16-27a	615 (30)	1295–1401 AD (95,4 %)
Poz-70142	Charred grain	Hearth, Y16-27b	590 (30)	1299–1370 AD (67,9 %) 1380–1413 AD (27,5 %)
Poz-70143	Charred grain	Cultural layer, Y16-51	620 (35)	1290–1403 AD (95,4 %)
Poz-70145	?	Floor, Y9-61	630 (30)	1287–1399 (95,4 %)

Sample ID	Sampled material	Context	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age
Poz-70146	Burnt bone?	Cultural layer? Y9-26	675 (30)	1271–1319 AD (56,5 %) 1352–1391 AD (38,9 %)
Poz-70147	?	Wall foundation? Y13-85a	680 (30)	1270–1316 AD (60,4 %) 1355–1390 AD (35,0 %)
Poz-70148	?	Wall foundation?, Y13-85b	630 (30)	1287–1399 AD (95,4 %)

Calibrated Age with 95.4 % Probability

KÖKLAX

Sample ID	Sampled material	Context	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age
Poz-8000	Charred seed	Post hole, 920:5	710 +/- 30	1256–1306 AD (85,0 %) 1363–1385 AD (10,4%)
Poz-8001	Charred seed	Medieval cultural layer (building Saka 8-5), Y852	660 +/- 25	1279–1319 AD (47,5 %) 1352–1391 AD (47,9 %)
Poz-8002	Charred seed	A clay layer under medieval floor (Saka 7-2), Y728	605 +/- 25	1297–1405 AD
Poz-8004	Charred seed	A layer connected to a me- dieval floor (Saka 8-6), Y857	660 +/- 30	1277–1323 AD (47,6 %) 1347–1393 AD (47,8 %)
Poz-9264	Charred seed	Discoloured surface of the subsoil, Y712	620 +/- 30	1291–1401 AD

Calibrated Age with 95.4 % Probability

MÄKKYLÄ

Sample ID	Sampled material	Context	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age
15C/ 1101	Charcoal	Floor layer, building RA3-B, Y3-33	270 +/- 30 BP	Cal 1510–1600 AD (42,8 %) Cal 1610–1670 AD (46,4 %) Cal 1780–1800 AD (6,2 %)
15C/1102	Charcoal	Early modern/ modern building? Y6-37	180 +/-30 BP	Cal 1650–1815 AD (69,6 %) Cal 1835–1954 AD (25,8 %)
15C/ 1103	Charcoal	Oven foundation, building RA2-A, Y2-35	250 +/- 30 BP	Cal 1520–1580 AD (14,6 %) Cal 1620–1680 AD (55,2 %) Cal 1760–1800 AD (21,3 %)
15C/ 1104	Charcoal	Floor layer, building RA2-D, Y2-43	400 +/- 30 BP	Cal 1430–1530 AD (74,6 %) Cal 1570–1630 AD (19,0 %)
15C/ 1105	Charcoal	Posthole, Y1-22	300 +/- 30 BP	Cal 1480–1660 AD
15C/ 1106	Charcoal	Waste layer? Y6-10	550 +/- 40 BP	Cal 1300–1440 AD
15C/ 1107	Charcoal	Wall, building RA1-B, Y1-21	430 +/- 40 BP	Cal 1410–1520 AD (83,5 %) Cal 1570–1630 AD (11,9 %)
15C/ 1108	Charcoal	A pit, possibly a posthole, Y3-80	680 +/- 40 BP	Cal 1260–1390 AD
15C/ 1109	Charcoal	Oven/ stove foundation, Y3-84	810 +/- 40 BP	Cal 1160–1270 AD
15C/ 1110	Charcoal	Burnt floor, building RA2-E, Y2-74	800 +/- 40 BP	Cal 1160–1280 AD

Calibrated Age with 95.4 % Probability

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Sample ID	Sampled material	Context	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age
Hela-2930	Charred seed		Modern	Modern
Hela-2931	Charcoal	Floor of building 6C	204 +/- 30	1646–1687 AD (26,5 %) 1731–1809 AD (50,2 %) 1926– AD (18,7 %)
Hela-2932	Charcoal	Floor of building 6C	142 +/- 30	1669–1711 AD (16,3 %) 1716–1781 AD (27,8 %) 1797–1891 AD (35,6 %) 1909–1945 AD (15,7 %)
Hela-2933	Charcoal	Floor of building 6C	142 +/- 30	1669–1711 AD (16,3 %) 1716–1781 AD (27,8 %) 1797–1891 AD (35,6 %) 1909–1945 AD (15,7 %)
Hela-3321	Charcoal	Cellar, Y3-70	362 +/- 27	1450–1530 AD (50,7 %) 1550–1635 AD (44,7 %)
Hela-3580	Charcoal	Cellar, Y3-64	637 +/- 29	1284–1329 AD (40,2%) 1340–1397 AD (55,2 %)

Calibrated Age with 95.4 % Probability

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Sample ID	Sampled material	Context	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age
Hela-797	Charcoal	Foundation trench, building GB1/I, R114:2/ O140	730 +/- 45	1215–1311 AD (86,5 %), 1360–1388 (8,9 %) AD
Hela-798	Charcoal	Medieval road	880 +/- 45	1035–1246 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-1870	Charcoal	Building 1?, Y302	375 +/- 35	1444–1529 AD (55,4 %), 1545–1634 AD (40,0 %)
Hela-1872	Charcoal	Smithy, Y308	840 +/- 35	1052–1080 AD (4,6 %), 1152–1267 AD (90,8 %)
Hela-1873	Charcoal	Smithy, R307/ Y305	845 +/- 35	1050–1083 AD (6,4 %), 1126–1136 AD (1,1 %), 1151–1265 AD (87,9 %)
Hela-1994	Charred seed	Waste layer/ vegetable patch	480/ +/- 35	1400–1465 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-1996	Charred seed	Waste layer/ vegetable patch	1515 +/- 40	427–622 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2288	Charcoal	Smithy, Y365/ Ku364	828 +/- 30	1160–1265 AD
Hela-2289	Charcoal	Stone structure, Y408/ R407	731 +/- 30	1224–1296 AD
Hela-2290	Charcoal	Smithy, Y384/ R383	1061 +/- 30	896–924 AD (16,7 %), 939–1024 AD (78,7 %)
Hela-2291	Charcoal	Smithy, Y376/ R373	909 +/- 30	1035–1190 AD (92,4 %), 1197–1207 AD (3,0 %)
Hela-2639	Charcoal	Oven, building 2, R401/ Y424	689 +/- 24	1270–1306 AD (73,8 %), 1363–1385 AD (21,6 %)
Hela-2667	Bone	Floor layer, building 3, Y611	412 +/- 31	1429–1522 AD (83,2 %), 1579–1582 AD (0,3 %), 1591–1620 AD (11,9 %)
Hela-2668	Burnt bone	Stove?, building 2, Y409/ Ku413	516 +/- 29	1415–1451 AD (95,4 %)
Hela-2669	Charcoal	Posthole, building 2, Y417/ Ku414	682 +/- 27	1272–1313 AD (61,6 %), 1358–1389 AD (33,8 %)
Hela-2927	Charcoal	Oven, building 2, R401/ Y420	488 +/- 30	1405–1450 AD
Hela-2928	Charcoal	Oven, building 2, R401/ Y424	443 +/- 31	1415–1490 AD (94,2 %), 1600–1610 AD (81,2 %)
Hela-2929	Charcoal	Smithy, Ku542/ Y543	791 +/- 31	1185–1280 AD

Calibrated Age with 95.4 % Probability



During the Middle Ages and early modern period, most of the people in Southern Finland lived in villages, but quite little has been known about their everyday life because of the scarceness of historical sources. However, the increasing archaeological material offers a great new opportunity to study the material culture in the villages, and at the same time discuss the social life of the inhabitants.

This study examines medieval villages as a social and material environment through the examples given by five villages located in Uusimaa, Southern Finland. By comparing the excavated buildings, objects, and historical sources, a nuanced picture is drawn of the different sides of the everyday life in the villages. The studied villages clearly demonstrate that the villages were varied environments, and that the differences in the material culture between the farms were closely connected to the differences in social position and contact nets the inhabitants had.

